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An Irish Quarterly Review

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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

JUNE 1933

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NATIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY[1]

BY JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES
Fellow of King's College, Cambridge

I

I WAS brought up, like most Englishmen, to respect Free Trade not only as an economic doctrine which a rational and instructed person could not doubt, but almost as a part of the moral law. I regarded ordinary departures from it as being at the same time an imbecility and an outrage. I thought England's unshakeable Free Trade convictions, maintained for nearly a hundred years, to be both the explanation before man and the justification before Heaven of her economic supremacy. As lately as 1923 I was writing that Free Trade was based on fundamental truths " which, stated with their due qualifications, no-one can dispute who is capable of understanding the meaning of the words."

Looking again to-day at the statements of these fundamental truths which I then gave, I do not find myself disputing them. Yet the orientation of my mind is changed ; and I share this change of mind with many others. Partly, indeed my background of economic theory is modified ;—I should not charge Mr. Baldwin, as I did then, with being " a victim of the Protectionist fallacy in its crudest form " because he believed that, in the existing conditions, a tariff might do something to diminish British unemployment. But mainly I attribute my change of outlook to something else—to my hopes and fears and pre-occupations, along with those of many or most, I believe, of this generation throughout the world, being different from what they were. It is a long business to shuffle out of the mental habits of the pre-war

[1] The first Finlay Lecture delivered at University College, Dublin, on April 19, 1933.

nineteenth century world. It is astonishing what a bundle of obsolete habiliments one's mind drags round even after the centre of consciousness has been shifted. But to-day at last, one third of the way through the twentieth century, we are most of us escaping from the nineteenth; and by the time we reach its mid-point, it may be that our habits of mind and what we care about will be as different from nineteenth century methods and values as each other century's has been from its predecessor's.

So here to-day, delivering the first of a series of lectures, which will have many successors but no predecessor, delivering it in Ireland, which has lifted a lively foot out of its bogs to become a centre of economic experiment and stands almost as remote from English nineteenth century Liberalism as Communist Russia or Fascist Italy or the blond beasts in Germany,—I feel it appropriate to attempt some sort of a stocktaking, of an analysis, of a diagnosis to discover in what this change of mind essentially consists, and finally to enquire whether, in the confusion of thought which still envelops this new-found enthusiasm of change, we may not be running an unnecessary risk of pouring out with the slops and the swill some pearls of characteristic nineteenth century wisdom.

What did the nineteenth century Free Traders, who were amongst the most idealistic and disinterested of men, believe that they were accomplishing?

They believed—and perhaps it is fair to put this first—that they were being perfectly sensible, that they alone of men were clear-sighted, and that the policies which sought to interfere with the ideal international division of labour were always the offspring of ignorance out of self-interest.

In the second place, they believed that they were solving the problem of poverty, and solving it for the world as a whole, by putting to their best uses, like a good housekeeper, the world's resources and abilities.

They believed, further, that they were serving, not merely the survival of the economically fittest, but the great cause of liberty, of freedom for personal initiative and individual gift, the cause of inventive art and the glorious fertility of the untrammelled mind against the forces of privilege and monopoly and obsolescence.

They believed, finally, that they were the friends and assurers of peace and international concord and economic justice between nations and the diffusers of the benefits of progress.

And if to the poet of that age there sometimes came strange feelings to wander far away where never comes the trader and catch the wild goat by the hair, there came also with full assurance the comfortable reaction—

> "I, to herd with narrow foreheads, vacant of our glorious gains,
> Like a beast with lower pleasures, like a beast with lower pains!"

II

What fault have we to find with this? Taking it at its surface value,—none. Yet we are not, many of us, content with it as a working political theory. What is wrong? We shall discover the source of our doubts, I think, not through a frontal attack, but by perambulation —by wandering round a different way to find the place of our political heart's desire. Nevertheless I will try to relate the new orientation as closely as I can to the old.

To begin with the question of peace. We are pacifist to-day with so much strength of conviction that, if the economic internationalist could win this point, he would soon recapture our support. But it does not to-day seem obvious that a great concentration of national effort on the capture of foreign trade, that the penetration of a country's economic structure by the resources and the influence of foreign capitalists, that a close dependence of our own economic life on the fluctuating economic

policies of foreign countries are safeguards and assurances of international peace. It is easier, in the light of experience and foresight, to argue quite the contrary. The protection of a country's existing foreign interests, the capture of new markets, the progress of economic imperialism—these are a scarcely avoidable part of a scheme of things which aims at the maximum of international specialisation and at the maximum geographical diffusion of capital wherever its seat of ownership. Advisable domestic policies might often be easier to compass, if the phenomenon known as "the flight of capital" could be ruled out. The divorce between ownership and the real responsibility of management is serious within a country, when, as a result of joint stock enterprise, ownership is broken up between innumerable individuals who buy their interest to-day and sell it to-morrow and lack altogether both knowledge and responsibility towards what they momentarily own. But when the same principle is applied internationally, it is, in times of stress, intolerable—I am irresponsible towards what I own and those who operate what I own are irresponsible towards me. There may be some financial calculation which shows it to be advantageous that my savings should be invested in whatever quarter of the habitable globe shows the greatest marginal efficiency of capital or the highest rate of interest. But experience is accumulating that remoteness between ownership and operation—what is historically symbolised for you in Ireland by absentee landlordism—is an evil in the relations between men, likely or certain in the long run to set up strains and enmities which will bring to nought the financial calculation.

Take as an example the relations between England and Ireland. The fact that the economic interests of the two countries have been for generations closely intertwined has been no occasion or guarantee of peace. It may be true, I believe it is, that a large part of these economic

relations are of such great economic advantage to both countries that it would be most foolish recklessly to disrupt them. But if you owed us no money, if we had never owned your land, if the exchange of goods were on a scale which made the question one of minor importance to the producers of both countries, it would be much easier to be friends. I sympathise, therefore, with those who would minimise, rather than with those who would maximise, economic entanglement between nations. Ideas, knowledge, science, hospitality, travel—these are the things which should of their nature be international. But let goods be homespun whenever it is reasonably and conveniently possible, and, above all, let finance be primarily national. Yet, at the same time, those who seek to disembarrass a country of its entanglements should be very slow and wary. It should not be a matter of tearing up roots but of slowly training a plant to grow in a different direction.

For these strong reasons, therefore, I am inclined to the belief that, after the transition is accomplished, a greater measure of national self-sufficiency and economic isolation between countries, than existed in 1914, may tend to serve the cause of peace rather than otherwise. At any rate the age of economic internationalism was not particularly successful in avoiding war; and if its friends retort that the imperfection of its success never gave it a fair chance, it is reasonable to point out that a greater success is scarcely probable in the coming years.

Let us turn from these questions of doubtful judgment, where each of us will remain entitled to his own opinion, to a matter more purely economic. In the nineteenth century the economic internationalist could probably claim with justice that his policy was tending to the world's great enrichment, that it was promoting economic progress, and that its reversal would have seriously impoverished both ourselves and our neighbours. This raises

a question of balance between economic and non-economic advantage such as is never easily decided. Poverty is a great evil; and economic advantage is a real good, not to be sacrificed to alternative real goods unless it is clearly of an inferior weight. I am ready to believe that in the nineteenth century two sets of conditions existed which caused the advantages of economic internationalism to outweigh disadvantages of a different kind. At a time when wholesale migrations were populating new continents, it was natural that the men should carry with them into the New Worlds the material fruits of the technique of the Old, embodying the savings of those who were sending them. The investment of British savings in rails and rolling stock to be installed by British engineers to carry British emigrants to new fields and pastures, the fruits of which they would return in due proportion to those whose frugality had made these things possible, was not economic internationalism remotely resembling in its essence the part ownership of the A. E. G. of Germany by a speculator in Chicago, or of the municipal improvements of Rio de Janeiro by an English spinster. Yet it was the type of organisation necessary to facilitate the former which has eventually ended up in the latter. In the second place, at a time when there were enormous differences in degree in the industrialisation and opportunities for technical training in different countries, the advantages of a high degree of national specialisation were very considerable.

But I am not persuaded that the economic advantages of the international division of labour to-day are at all comparable with what they were. I must not be understood to carry my argument beyond a certain point. A considerable degree of international specialisation is necessary in a rational world in all cases where it is dictated by wide differences of climate, natural resources native aptitudes, level of culture and density of population. But over an increasingly wide range of industrial products,

and perhaps of agricultural products also, I become doubtful whether the economic loss of national self-sufficiency is great enough to outweigh the other advantages of gradually bringing the producer and the consumer within the ambit of the same national, economic and financial organisation. Experience accumulates to prove that most modern mass-production processes can be performed in most countries and climates with almost equal efficiency. Moreover, with greater wealth, both primary and manufactured products play a smaller relative part in the national economy compared with houses, personal services and local amenities which are not equally available for international exchange; with the result that a moderate increase in the real cost of the former consequent on greater national self-sufficiency may cease to be of serious consequence when weighed in the balance against advantages of a different kind. National self-sufficiency, in short, though it costs something, may be becoming a luxury which we can afford, if we happen to want it.

III

Are there sufficient good reasons why we may happen to want it? There are many friends of mine, nurtured in the old school and reasonably offended by the waste and economic loss attendant on contemporary economic nationalism in being, to whom the tendency of these remarks will be pain and grief. Yet let me try to indicate to them in terms with which they may sympathise the reasons which I think I see.

The decadent international but individualistic capitalism, in the hands of which we found ourselves after the war, is not a success. It is not intelligent, it is not beautiful, it is not just, it is not virtuous;—and it doesn't deliver the goods. In short, we dislike it and we are beginning to despise it. But when we wonder what to put in its place, we are extremely perplexed.

Each year it becomes more obvious that the world is

embarking on a variety of politico-economic experiments, and that different types of experiment appeal to different national temperaments and historical environments. The nineteenth-century free-trader's economic internationalism assumed that the whole world was, or would be, organised on a basis of private competitive capitalism and of the freedom of private contract inviolably protected by the sanctions of law—in various phases, of course, of complexity and development, but conforming to a uniform type which it would be the general object to perfect and certainly not to destroy. Nineteenth century protectionism was a blot upon the efficiency and good-sense of this scheme of things, but it did not modify the general presumption as to the fundamental characteristics of economic society.

But to-day one country after another abandons these presumptions. Russia is still alone in her particular experiment, but no longer alone in her abandonment of the old presumptions. Italy, Ireland, Germany, have cast their eyes or are casting them towards new modes of political economy. Many more countries after them, I predict, will seek, one by one, after new economic gods. Even countries such as Great Britain and the United States, which still conform *par excellence* to the old model, are striving, under the surface, after a new economic plan. We do not know what will be the outcome. We are—all of us, I expect—about to make many mistakes. No-one can tell which of the new systems will prove itself best.

But the point for my present discussion is this. We each have our own fancy. Not believing that we are saved already, we each would like to have a try at working out our own salvation. We do not wish, therefore, to be at the mercy of world forces working out, or trying to work out, some uniform equilibrium according to the ideal principles, if they can be called such, of *laisser-faire* capitalism. There are still those who cling to the old

ideas, but in no country of the world to-day can they be reckoned as a serious force. We wish—for the time at least and so long as the present transitional, experimental phase endures—to be our own masters, and to be as free as we can make ourselves from the interferences of the outside world.

Thus, regarded from this point of view, the policy of an increased national self-sufficiency is to be considered, not as an ideal in itself, but as directed to the creation of an environment in which other ideals can be safely and conveniently pursued.

Let me give as dry an illustration of this as I can devise, chosen because it is connected with ideas with which recently my own mind has been largely pre-occupied. In matters of economic detail, as distinct from the central controls, I am in favour of retaining as much private judgment and initiative and enterprise as possible. But I have become convinced that the retention of the structure of private enterprise is incompatible with that degree of material well-being to which our technical advancement entitles us, unless the rate of interest falls to a much lower figure than is likely to come about by natural forces operating on the old lines. Indeed the transformation of society, which I preferably envisage, may require a reduction in the rate of interest towards vanishing point within the next thirty years. But under a system by which the rate of interest finds a uniform level, after allowing for risk and the like, throughout the world under the operation of normal financial forces, this is most unlikely to occur. Thus for a complexity of reasons, which I cannot elaborate in this place, economic internationalism embracing the free movement of capital and of loanable funds as well as of traded goods may condemn my own country for a generation to come to a much lower degree of material prosperity than could be attained under a different system.

But this is merely an illustration. It is my central

contention that there is no prospect for the next generation of a uniformity of economic system throughout the world, such as existed, broadly speaking, during the nineteenth century; that we all need to be as free as possible of interference from economic changes elsewhere, in order to make our own favourite experiments towards the ideal social Republic of the future; and that a deliberate movement towards greater national self-sufficiency and economic isolation will make our task easier, in so far as it can be accomplished without excessive economic cost.

IV

There is one more explanation, I think, of the re-orientation of our minds. The nineteenth century carried to extravagant lengths the criterion of what one can call for short "the financial results," as a test of the advisability of any course of action sponsored by private or by collective action. The whole conduct of life was made into a sort of parody of an accountant's night-mare. Instead of using their vastly increased material and technical resources to build a wonder-city, they built slums;—and they thought it right and advisable to build slums because slums, on the test of private enterprise, "paid," whereas the wonder-city would, they thought, have been an act of foolish extravagance, which would, in the imbecile idiom of the financial fashion, have "mortgaged the future"; though how the construction to-day of great and glorious works can impoverish the future, no man can see until his mind is beset by false analogies from an irrelevant accountancy. Even to-day I spend my time—half-vainly, but also, I must admit, half-successfully—in trying to persuade my countrymen that the nation as a whole will assuredly be richer if unemployed men and machines are used to build much-needed houses than if they are supported in idleness. For the minds of this generation are still so be-clouded by bogus calculations that they distrust conclusions which

should be obvious, out of a reliance on a system of financial accounting which casts doubt on whether such an operation will "pay." We have to remain poor because it does not "pay" to be rich. We have to live in hovels, not because we cannot build palaces, but because we cannot "afford" them.

The same rule of self-destructive financial calculation governs every walk of life. We destroy the beauty of the countryside because the unappropriated splendours of nature have no economic value. We are capable of shutting off the sun and the stars because they do not pay a dividend. London is one of the richest cities in the history of civilisation, but it cannot "afford" the highest standards of achievement of which its own living citizens are capable, because they do not "pay."

If I had responsibility for the Government of Ireland to-day, I should most deliberately set out to make Dublin, within its appropriate limits of scale, a splendid city fully endowed with all the appurtenances of art and civilisation on the highest standards of which its citizens were individually capable, convinced that what I could create, I could afford—and believing that money thus spent would not only be better than any dole, but would make unnecessary any dole. For with what we have spent on the dole in England since the war we could have made our cities the greatest works of man in the world.

Or again we have until recently conceived it a moral duty to ruin the tillers of the soil and destroy the age-long human traditions attendant on husbandry, if we could get a loaf of bread thereby a tenth of a penny cheaper. There was nothing which it was not our duty to sacrifice to this Moloch and Mammon in one; for we faithfully believed that the worship of these monsters would overcome the evil of poverty and lead the next generation safely and comfortably, on the back of compound interest, into economic peace.

To-day we suffer disillusion, not because we are poorer

than we were—on the contrary even to-day we enjoy, in Great Britain at least, a higher standard of life than at any previous period, but because other values seem to have been sacrificed and because they seem to have been sacrificed unnecessarily, inasmuch as our economic system is not, in fact, enabling us to exploit to the utmost the possibilities for economic wealth afforded by the progress of our technique, but falls far short of this, leading us to feel that we might as well have used up the margin in more satisfying ways.

But once we allow ourselves to be disobedient to the test of an accountant's profit, we have begun to change our civilisation. And we need to do so very warily, cautiously and self-consciously. For there is a wide field of human activity where we shall be wise to retain the usual pecuniary tests. It is the State, rather than the individual, which needs to change its criterion. It is the conception of the Minister of Finance as the Chairman of a sort of joint-stock company which has to be discarded. Now if the functions and purposes of the State are to be thus enlarged, the decision as to what, broadly speaking, shall be produced within the nation and what shall be exchanged with abroad, must stand high amongst the objects of policy.

V

From these reflections on the proper purposes of the State, I return to the world of contemporary politics. Having sought to understand and to do full justice to the ideas which underlie the urge felt by so many countries to-day towards greater national self-sufficiency, we have to consider with care whether in practice we are not too easily discarding much of value which the nineteenth century achieved. In those countries where the advocates of national self-sufficiency have attained power, it appears to my judgment that, without exception, many foolish things are being done. Mussolini may be acquiring wisdom teeth. But Russia to-day exhibits the worst

example which the world, perhaps, has ever seen of administrative incompetence and of the sacrifice of almost everything that makes life worth living to wooden heads. Germany is at the mercy of unchained irresponsibles—though it is too soon to judge her.

Ireland ?—well I know so little about Ireland that it ought to be no effort for me to be discreet ! Let me, nevertheless, risk a few rash sentences, asking beforehand the pardon of my readers for an incursion for which I have but too little warrant.

I feel myself greatly divided in my sympathies. It will be obvious from what I have just said that, if I were an Irishman, I should find much to attract me in the economic outlook of your present government towards greater self-sufficiency. But as a practical man and as one who considers poverty and insecurity to be great evils, I should wish to be first satisfied on two matters.

My first question is fundamental. I should ask if Ireland—above all if the Free State—is a large enough unit geographically, with sufficiently diversified natural resources, for more than a very modest measure of national self-sufficiency to be feasible without a disastrous reduction in a standard of life which is already none too high. I believe, I should answer that it would be an act of high wisdom on the part of the Irish to enter into an economic arrangement with England which would, within appropriate limits, retain for Ireland her traditional British markets against mutual advantages for British producers within the wide field which for long to come will not interfere with Ireland's own developments. I should see nothing in this the slightest degree derogatory to her political and cultural autonomy. I should look on it merely as an act of commonsense for the preservation of the standard of life of the Irish, at a level which would alone make possible the country's new political and cultural life. To-day it is not too late to accomplish this and it would be in the interests of both countries. But with each

delay it will be more difficult, inasmuch as the exclusion of Irish agricultural produce suits extremely the present trend of British agricultural policy.

But if for a complexity of reasons, good or bad, idealistic or political, I were to reject this, and were deliberately to decide to work out the economic destiny of the country on other lines, having made, so to speak, my moral decision, I should sit down to the problem with the best brains I could command to work out a slow series of experiments. No one has a right to gamble with the resources of a people by going blindly into technical changes imperfectly understood. Russia stands before us as an awful example of what ruin and desolation ill-judging and obstinate experimentation can work in an agricultural people, so that men are actually starving to-day in what was a little time ago one of the greatest food-producing areas of the world. Agricultural processes have deep roots, work themselves out slowly, are resistant to change and disobedient to administrative order, and yet are frail and delicate, so that when they have suffered injury they are not easily restored. What a wound would have been inflicted on the fair face of Ireland if within two or three years her rich pastures were to be ploughed up and the result were to be a fiasco ! Could a man forgive himself for such a thing if he had acted, before ascertained knowledge and careful experiment had first shown beyond reasonable doubt that the project was a practicable success—I do not say at no cost—but at no undue cost.

Meanwhile those countries which maintain or are adopting straightforward protectionism of the old-fashioned type, re-furbished with the addition of a few of the new-plan quotas, are doing many things incapable of rational defence. Thus, if the World Economic Conference achieves a mutual reduction of tariffs and prepares the way for regional agreements, it will be matter for sincere applause. For I must not be supposed to be

endorsing all those things which are being done in the political world to-day in the name of economic nationalism. Far from it. But I bring my criticisms to bear, as one whose heart is friendly and sympathetic to the desperate experiments of the contemporary world, who wishes them well and would like them to succeed, who has his own experiments in view, and who, in the last resort, prefers anything on earth to what the City reports are wont to call "the best opinion in Wall Street." And I seek to point out that the world towards which we are uneasily moving is quite different from the ideal economic internationalism of our fathers, and that contemporary policies must not be judged on the maxims of that former faith.

I see three outstanding dangers in economic nationalism and in the movements towards national self-sufficiency,

The first is Silliness,—the silliness of the doctrinaire. It is nothing strange to discover this in movements which have passed somewhat suddenly from the phase of midnight high-flown talk into the field of action. We do not distinguish, at first, between the colour of the rhetoric with which we have won a people's assent and the dull substance of the truth of our message. There is nothing insincere in the transition. Words ought to be a little wild—for they are the assault of thoughts upon the unthinking. But when the seats of power and authority have been attained, there should be no more poetic licence.

We have, therefore, to count the cost down to the penny which our rhetoric had despised. An experimental society has need to be far more efficient than an old-established one, if it is to survive safely. It will need all its economic margin for its own proper purposes and can afford to give nothing away to softheadedness or doctrinaire impracticability. When a doctrinaire proceeds to action, he must, so to speak, forget his doctrine. For those who in action remember the letter will probably lose what they are seeking.

The second danger—and a worse danger than silliness —is Haste. Paul Valery's aphorism is worth quoting :— " Political conflicts distort and disturb the people's sense of distinction between matters of importance and matters of urgency." The economic transition of a Society is a thing to be accomplished slowly. What I have been discussing is not a sudden revolution, but the direction of secular trend. We have a fearful example in Russia to-day of the evils of insane and unnecessary haste. The sacrifices and losses of transition will be vastly greater if the pace is forced. I do not believe in the inevitability of gradualness, but I do believe in gradualness. This is above all true of a transition towards greater national self-sufficiency and a planned domestic economy. For it is of the nature of economic processes to be rooted in time. A rapid transition will involve so much pure destruction of wealth that the new state of affairs will be, at first, far worse than the old ; and the grand experiment will be discredited. For men judge remorselessly by early results.

The third risk, and the worst risk of all three, is Intolerance and the stifling of instructed criticism. The new movements have usually come into power through a phase of violence or quasi-violence. They have not convinced their opponents ; they have downed them. It is the modern method—but very disastrous I am still old-fashioned enough to believe—to depend on propaganda and to seize the organs of opinion ; it is thought to be clever and useful to fossilise thought and to use all the forces of authority to paralyse the play of mind on mind. For those who have found it necessary to employ all methods whatever to attain power, it is a serious temptation to continue to use for the task of construction the same dangerous tools which wrought the preliminary house-breaking.

Russia, once again, furnishes us with an example of the crushing blunders which a regime makes when it has

exempted itself from criticism. The explanation of the incompetence with which wars are always conducted on both sides, may be found in the comparative exemption from criticism which the military hierarchy affords to the high command. I have no excessive admiration for politicians, but, brought up as they are in the very breath of criticism, how much superior they are to the soldiers! Revolutions only succeed because they are conducted by politicians against soldiers. Paradox though it be—who ever heard of a successful revolution conducted by soldiers against politicians? But we all hate criticism. Nothing but rooted principle will cause us willingly to expose ourselves to it.

Yet the new economic modes towards which we are blundering are, in the essence of their nature, experiments. We have no clear idea laid up in our minds beforehand of exactly what we want. We shall discover it as we move along and we shall have to mould our material in accordance with our experience. Now for this process bold, free and remorseless criticism is a *sine qua non* of ultimate success. We need the collaboration of all the bright spirits of the age. Stalin has eliminated every independent, critical mind, even when they are sympathetic in general outlook. He has produced an environment in which the processes of mind are atrophied. The soft convolutions of the brain are turned to wood. The multiplied bray of the loud speaker replaces the inflections of the human voice. The bleat of propaganda bores even the birds and the beasts of the field into stupefaction. Let Stalin be a terrifying example to all who seek to make experiments. If not, I, at any rate, will soon be back again in my old nineteenth century ideals, where the play of mind on mind created for us the inheritance which we to-day, enriched by what our fathers procured for us, are seeking to divert to our own appropriate purposes.

J. M. Keynes

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM

BY PROFESSOR JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., LL.D.

"IN the case of Mr. Roosevelt, it is not easy to say with certainty whether his left wing or his right wing supporters are the more deceived. The reason is that Franklin D. Roosevelt is a highly impressionable person without a firm grasp of public affairs and without very strong convictions. . . . It would not be denied that men less fitted than he have served acceptably as Presidents of the United States. Nevertheless, the judgment exists and has grown more firm that he has not the grasp of the issues or the disinterestedness or the resolution that a President must have in time of great emergency."

The foregoing extracts are taken, respectively, from two articles by Walter Lippmann published in the New York *Herald Tribune* in January and February, 1932. In view of the subsequent activities of Mr. Roosevelt, they afford a remarkable example of the possibility that competent journalists may sometimes be deceived in their estimates of public men. However, Mr. Lippmann is not the only prominent observer who was mistaken in his judgment concerning the character and capacities of the man who is now President of the United States.

Mr. Roosevelt has reversed the prevailing procedure of Americans who seek public office. As a rule, they make large but not too specific promises before election. After that event, they frequently translate their pre-election promises into programs and performances which fall short of, and yet comply in a general way with, those committments. Candidate Roosevelt was quite definite and specific in some of his speeches, but sufficiently vague

in several others. Between the election and his inauguration, he did certain things and said certain things which indicated that he had a much wider grasp of public questions than had been credited to him by Mr. Lippmann and others, and that he had in mind a pretty specific program of action. In other words, by the time he entered upon his great office, most of the criticisms of his supposed vagueness and lack of forthrightness had been discontinued.

Nevertheless, very few were prepared for the terms or the temper of his Inaugural Address. Here was no evasion, no vagueness, no hesitation, no timidity, no feebleness of grasp, no lack of comprehensiveness, no complacent materialism nor any cautious conservatism. In the second sentence of that pronouncement, he declared: "This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly." Recalling the fact that a leadership of frankness and vigour had received the support of the people in every dark hour of the national life, he continued: "And I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days." Further on he said: "This nation asks for action and action now. . . . We must act, we must act quickly. . . . I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people, dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems." Rejecting the assumption that happiness lies "in the mere possession of money," he asserted that "these dark days will be worth all they cost if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister unto ourselves and unto our fellow men." Referring to the collapse of the banking system and the decline in the reputation of many of the great figures in finance, he said: "Yes, the money-changers have fled from the high seats in the temple of civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths."

In form, in subject matter, in tone and in appeal,

President Roosevelt's is one of the two or three great Inaugural Addresses that have been delivered in the one hundred and forty-five years of our national life. Not the least admirable part is the closing paragraph: "In this dedication of a nation, we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come." Just before the beginning of the inaugural ceremonies, the President-elect and his entire family had gone to St. John's Church for a private and informal service of prayer.

Less than twenty-four hours after the Inauguration, the President's promise of "action now" entered upon a course of fulfillment which has proceeded with bewildering rapidity and of which the end is not yet. His first act was to invoke the authorization of a wartime law in order to put into effect a banking moratorium. At the time when he issued this order, on account of the rush of depositors to withdraw their money, three-fourths of the banks of the country had closed or had been put under a moratorium by state governors. This is not the place to explain this phenomenon, which is undoubtedly very puzzling to Europeans. America is the classic land of bank failures. The reasons are, in brief, the incompetence and occasionally the dishonesty of the bankers, and the fall which has taken place since 1929 in the values of the properties upon which the banks had loaned money and of the securities in which many of them had invested a large share of their funds. At this writing, more than a month after the end of the general moratorium, approximately one-fourth of the banks of the country are still unopened. However, two or three bills are about ready for introduction into Congress which will probably remove most of the evils and weaknesses of our banking system.

President Roosevelt has already sent to Congress bills providing for the sale of beer; for employment of a quarter of a million men in the work of reforestation; for economies in government which will reduce federal expenditures by

about twenty-five per cent.; for raising the prices of agricultural commodities; for saving farms and small urban homes from threatened foreclosure on account of mortgages, and for the regulation of the sale of company securities to the general public. In the last named bill, the principle of "caveat venditor" is deliberately substituted for "caveat emptor." The President has supported a bill providing five hundred million dollars for direct relief of the unemployed, has endorsed a bill for government development, ownership and operation of a huge electric power and flood control project on the Tennessee River (Muscle Shoals), and is directing the preparation of bills for the coordination of the railroads and for a vast program of public works to provide employment and bring about business recovery. He is encouraging the enactment of the Black bill establishing a thirty-hour working week and including provisions for the establishment of minimum wages. Some of the measures just enumerated have already been enacted into law; most if not quite all of them will undoubtedly be embodied in federal legislation before this article appears in print. In the international field, the President has under consideration several important measures, the first of which is an economic conference of representatives of all the important nations which will be held in Washington before the end of April.

Since the foregoing lines were written, he has startled the country by forbidding exports of gold, thus putting the United States completely "off the gold standard." Only the future can disclose the full implications of this momentous action. He has also asked and will undoubtedly receive from Congress authorization to inflate the currency.

Almost every one of the measures just enumerated is of major importance. Taken together, they constitute a more comprehensive and fundamental program of legislation than all the enactments of Congress during the preceding ten years. Most of them would not have

received serious consideration in our National Legislature but for the continuation of the industrial depression. Several of them would not have been passed in the absence of competent and popularly supported leadership by the Chief Executive. Up to the present, at any rate, the confidence expressed in his Inaugural Address that his leadership would be sustained by the people has been justified. The cooperation and the speed exhibited by Congress in carrying out the President's proposals has been without precedent except in wartime.

A note of caution, however, should be sounded here. The thirty-hour working week bill and the proposals for the establishment of minimum wages and for a moderate extension of government control of production have already aroused considerable opposition in the National Association of Manufacturers and other selfish industrial interests. Although the representatives of these interests have conspicuously and disgracefully failed for three years to show any way out of the depression, they still have the effrontery to oppose the only remedies that exhibit any grounds for hope. Like the Bourbons, these preposterous persons have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

Will the measures recommended by the President provide the beginning of a movement out of the industrial depression? Of course, no one can answer that question with the assurance of certainty, but there is a strong probability that the proper answer is in the affirmative. The proposal for an expenditure of somewhere between three and six billion dollars upon public works in order to provide employment for some of the millions now out of work and to create purchasing power for the recovery of business, is undoubtedly the most pertinent of all these measures in this connection.

So much for the President's economic program. More interesting is the economic theory or economic philosophy which is at the basis of the program. The philosophy was outlined with a fair amount of definiteness by Governor

Roosevelt in a speech in San Francisco last September. This was not one of his political campaign addresses. It was delivered before a group of business and professional men named the Commonwealth Club. "Our industrial plant is built. . . . A mere builder of more industrial plants, a creator of more railroad systems, an organizer of more corporations is as likely to be a danger as a help. . . . Our task now is not the discovery or exploitation of natural resources nor necessarily that of producing more goods. It is the sober, less romantic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to establish foreign markets for our surplus product, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting society's economic organization to the service of the people. . . . As I see it, the task of government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order. . . . Every man has a right to life and this means that he has also a right to make a comfortable living." The latter right, Governor Roosevelt went on to say, includes the right of man to obtain a sufficient return for his labour, to provide for his dependents, for sickness and for old age; and he asserted that all other property rights must yield to the assurance and safety of the workers' earnings.

This philosophy exhibits two distinct doctrines: one, economic; the other, ethical. According to the former, there has been in the United States too much saving and too little spending of the national product; too much has gone into capital instruments and not enough into the consumption of necessaries and comforts. More briefly, an insufficient portion of the national income or product has gone into wages. This is the doctrine of underconsumption,—for a long time regarded as unorthodox by the majority of economists, but now widely accepted as the principal cause of the existing depression. The power

to consume has not been combined in sufficient measure with the desire to consume to keep our industries going. Hence the President's program of a shorter work week, of minimum wages and of public works. The ethical part of the philosophy assumes the right of all persons to the actual opportunity of obtaining a minimum decent degree of welfare, " a comfortable living " (as the President phrases it), together with the right to adequate and assured provision for dependents and for those contingencies of life in which earning power no longer exists. The similarity between this part of the Commonwealth Club address and certain parts of the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* is sufficiently evident.

There is a fairly definite contrast between this economic philosophy and that of ex-President Hoover. The latter has frequently advocated equality of economic opportunity, but he seems to restrict this phrase to the legal opportunity to pursue the highest economic prizes. He would make the race for the top legally available to all persons. Nowhere, so far as I know, has he supplemented this doctrine by any provision for those who do not win the race. He has never declared it to be the duty of government to assure a minimum of actual opportunity in the sense of a decent livelihood for all persons. Mr. Hoover's theory on this point is essentially individualistic. It does not differ greatly from the economic individualism which was dominant at the beginning of the nineteenth century and which has been the curse of the capitalistic system throughout the world. Economic individualism, as pointed out by J. L. and Barbara Hammond, " involved the right to take what interest and profit you could get ; to buy and sell as you pleased ; rights which had been controlled in the Middle Ages. Thus the radicals tended to substitute for the divine right of kings the divine right of capitalists." (*The Rise of Modern Industry*, pp. 216, 217). The equality of opportunity which Mr. Hoover loves and defends has always been satisfactory to the

strong man,—the man who is pretty sure of winning. It does not contain much comfort for those who are outdistanced.

The contrast between the two economic philosophies was recognized and discussed by President Hoover himself during the Presidential campaign. On October 31, 1932, in a speech in New York City, he referred to the statement in Governor Roosevelt's Commonwealth Club speech that " our industrial plant is built " and that " our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources nor necessarily of producing more goods," but that " of distributing wealth and products more equitably." President Hoover's reply was : " I challenge the whole idea that we have ended the advance of America, that this country has reached the zenith of its power, the height of its development. . . . If that is true, every American must abandon the road of countless progress and unlimited opportunity. . . . There are a thousand inventions for comforts in the lockers of science and invention which have not yet come to light ; all are but on their frontiers."

In effect, Mr. Hoover expressed and accepted the traditional doctrine of economists and business men—namely, that if only we continue to produce goods indefinitely the product will all find a market and get distributed necessarily and automatically. The unemployment caused by improvements in production will be only temporary, for new commodities will be invented to attract purchasing power from those who have the money and thus restore employment and reestablish prosperity. This is substantially the Puritan doctrine of work as " an end in itself," " of limitless increase and expansion," " of the supremacy of the economic virtues, of economic progress as an end to be consciously sought." Such is the description given by R. H. Tawney, who continues thus : " The worship of production and ever greater production—the slavish drudgery of the millionaire and his unhappy servants—was to be hallowed by the precepts of the same

compelling creed." (*Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, pp. 248, 249). Significantly enough, Mr. Hoover is a Quaker and, therefore, a natural heir to this Puritan philosophy of work and production.

Despite his observation and experiences during more than three years of the economic depression, Mr. Hoover apparently never came to a realization of the elementary fact that the excessive productive capacity of the United States has completely refuted the theory or the expectation that unlimited production would automatically find unlimited consumption, that distribution could safely be left to the free play of supply and demand and that new inventions would appear with sufficient rapidity to absorb the surplus purchasing power of the well-to-do and the rich.

Owing to his fallacious economic theory, Mr. Hoover's efforts to check the depression and to promote business recovery all ended in disastrous failure. Every prophecy that he made concerning the approach of better times was belied by the event; every practical measure that he recommended or adopted proved futile. In the summer of 1930, he refused to sanction an adequate program of public works, because his economic theory did not permit him to believe that the depression could last more than a few weeks longer. At the end of the year 1930, he made the same refusal for the same reason. He was unable to entertain the supposition that the economic system would not automatically readjust itself.

At the beginning of 1932, he at last realized that something must be done besides drifting. Hence he recommended to Congress the establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other measures for providing more ample credit. He expected that these would not only prevent bankruptcies, but force credit into actual use for business recovery. While the loans made to banks and insurance companies and the railroads by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation did prevent

some failures, the expanded facilities of credit gave no stimulus to business. Bankers did not want to lend, nor did business men want to borrow without some prospect of an increase of sales of goods. No increase of sales was in sight because the purchasing power of the country had been cut in two. The slight and temporary recovery which took place in some industries in the late summer of that year (1932) deceived him into believing what he wanted to believe, that at last a general movement out of the depression was at hand. Hence, he declared in one of his speeches during the campaign for re-election that "the gigantic forces of depression are in retreat," and "we are bringing back recovery." Even as he spoke, the business trend was already receding. At the end of his Presidential term, the general volume of business was at the lowest level that it had attained since the beginning of the depression, and the institution in which he had placed greatest faith—the Reconstruction Finance Corporation—had failed not only in the field of business recovery but in its own proper sphere of strengthening the banks; for two days before the fourth of March, it was clear that all the banks in the country which had not already closed were due for suspension within a few days.

There is something ironic and pitiable about the apostle of prosperity encountering the worst depression in our history and failing in every effort to bring it to an end. During the 1928 campaign, Mr. Hoover asserted that the abolition of poverty was in sight in the United States. Four years later twelve million persons were out of work, at least half that number were working part time and the general level of business was only fifty per cent. of what it had been when he uttered this optimistic prophecy.

Nevertheless, there is no mystery in Mr. Hoover's disappointing experience. In a broad sense, he was incompetent. He had been a mining engineer, a successful promoter of company operations, an efficient organizer of

relief missions on a grand scale, but he had no adequate knowledge of fundamental economic forces, and his economic theory was saturated with fallacies. He believed in handing down economic salvation from above, through provision of credit to the masters of industry. He did not realize that in a depression which has been brought about mainly by deficiency of purchasing power in those who would like to consume more, the only adequate remedy is to be sought through the provision of purchasing power for those who would exercise that power.

On this point, President Roosevelt accepts the opposite theory and philosophy. He believes that the depression can be ended only through an expansion of purchasing power where it would be used. Possibly it is too late now for even this method. Possibly the Government of the United States will have to take over and operate the essential industries. We hope, however, that the President will succeed. In any case, he is making a gallant effort. And his guiding motive is social justice. For the first time in three years, the people entertain some definite hope. They realize that their President thinks of public welfare in terms of human beings, in terms of the ordinary man—" the forgotten man," he himself phrased it—instead of in terms of production and mechanical progress. If the capitalist system can be saved in the United States, it will be saved through the policies of President Roosevelt.

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RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

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FOR the ordinary Irishman, even educated Irishman, Bolshevism stands for a determined practical attack on the rights of private property, for an experiment aimed at conducting the whole business and industrial life of the community through the organs of the State. Occasionally in his newspapers he sees references to the Five-Year Plan, the failure—or it may be the success—of which is confidently predicted. Now and then he has a vague feeling of uneasiness that the whole thing may have remote but uncomfortable repercussions on his mode of living.

But the Bolshevist Revolution means more than the attempt to socialise all industry and business, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to abolish class-distinction. The world is face to face with the most radical revolution in human history; and the world as a whole is obstinately indifferent. Perhaps the movement is not spectacular in the ordinary sense. There is also the extreme difficulty of getting reliable information about the actual happenings in that vast tract of territory—one-sixth of the globe—with its one hundred and sixty million inhabitants. The vastness of the stage, the great divergence of civilisation and culture, the stupendous and all-embracing character of the upheaval combine with violent propaganda and rigid censorship to dim the insight of even the would-be interested.

In addition, where Russia is concerned, Europe has long indulged in the habit of self-deception. How often has the whole experiment disastrously collapsed! The magnitude of the failure has only been equalled by the readiness of the leaders to make open confession! For

one reason or another few—except in those lands where a life and death struggle seems already at hand—will admit that the whole business can have any practical bearing on themselves or their lives. In the face of many symptoms of a threatening catastrophe mankind refuses—as it generally does—to be seriously disturbed. Even many of those who cannot accept the eager wishes of its enemies as evidence of the imminent economic collapse of the whole Bolshevist system solace themselves with the belief that some of its more unpleasant features are unnecessary excrescences. They fail to see the intimate connection between the various phases of Soviet activity.

For there is such a connection, and the Russian Revolution is much more of a piece than is generally realised. The effort is nothing less than the remaking of human nature. Acting on the assumption that most of what has been regarded as fundamentally human is really the product of training, environment, tradition and exploitation, the Communists have set themselves the task of creating the New Man. Man must be plucked up from the roots, freed from the trammels of his political, social, moral and religious past. Though general attention has been mainly focussed on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the effort to suppress private enterprise in production and distribution, replacing it by Collectivism and State-management, too exclusive a regard to this aspect may prevent a properly balanced view, especially for those whose values are different from those of the Bolsheviks.

The assumption so often made that the ultimate fate of Bolshevism will depend exclusively on its proved ability to overbid Capitalism as a system of production and distribution merits a moment's consideration. What is this but the acceptance of one of the root principles of Marxism—the Materialistic Interpretation of History? According to this all human activity, and so all manifestations of religion, morality and politics, are ultimately

determined by economic conditions alone, and especially by the organisation of production, transport and distribution. The fact that the acceptance of this " ideology "—the Bolsheviks dislike the idea of metaphysics—is so frequently unconscious throws a light on the lines along which the modern outlook has developed. Many of the critics of Bolshevism seem to share its materialistic foundations. They may be anxious to reject its more inconvenient conclusions concerning economic organisation—but the glasses through which they look at the world and humanity have the same tinge. There is the same real denial of spiritual values, the acceptance of the same measuring rods for life and life's problems. Religion, for instance, is a force to which they are either hostile or indifferent. Some, indeed, recognise its social utility; others experience an aesthetic sadness as they watch it fading into its twilight.

Another observation may be permitted. We have the spectacle of the apostles of the Materialistic Interpretation of History allowing political considerations to mould economic life to an extent hitherto unknown. The whole management of the Revolution for the last fifteen years, the manner in which the Bolshevist system has been forced on the Russian people and accepted by them, the self-sacrifice that is demanded—and not always in vain—from the masses, the belief and enthusiasm with which so many have worked for the new system—all these constitute an outstanding instance of the power of ideas and ideals to effect social and economic changes. The manner of the triumph of Dialectic Materialism and Communism in Russia is a poor argument for the basic principle.[1]

[1] In the Party-purifications in the last ten years, especially achieved by the expulsion of prominent leaders, it is natural that the victors should claim to be the only legitimate successors of Marx-Lenin. But it is interesting to observe how their " schoolmen " attribute the mistakes and anti-revolutionary crimes of their opponents to departure from sound doctrine. An unexpected testimony to the power of ideas! The outsider may be pardoned if he finds it difficult to believe that many of the schismatical movements in which the East has been so prolific were based on any more subtle dogmatic differences.

It is with the attitude of the Soviet authorities to religion that this article has to deal. The close connection between the Orthodox Church and the Tsarist regime, closer than that between the Gallican Church and the French Monarchy, the manner and the extent to which the Church seemed to be subservient to the Old Order would help to account for some of the bitter hostility of the revolutionary leaders. But their hostility to religion cuts much deeper than this. It is all-pervading, the outcome of attitudes to life and the world, which are not merely different but are basically opposed. No peace is possible. To the mind of the Bolshevik leaders the tying up of religion to the chariots of the Tsarist Government and the bourgeois system of exploitation was no mere historical happening, it was no mere accident; it had its root in the very nature of religion itself. In its very essence Marxism is anti-religious.

The Bolsheviks are materialists[1]—these rejecters of all metaphysical speculation follow the age-old habit of their fellows in adopting the crudest form of metaphysics. But their materialism, whilst it would explain their rejection of religion and all forms of idealistic substitutes for it, does not account for the missionary zeal with which they preach and strive to carry through its destruction; it does not even satisfactorily answer the question why militant unbelief is the programme of the Party. We have here to do with no neutrality or indifference, but with passionate hatred, unceasingly stimulated and exacerbated. The Bolshevik outlook on life is a complete substitute not only for the political and economic systems that it has supplanted, but for morality, philosophy and religion as well. A divided allegiance is impossible. Many observers have been struck with the fact that Bolshevism displays more than one psychological attribute of more old-fashioned forms of belief. This new anti-Religion

[1] "Our programme is entirely based on scientific—to be more precise—upon *materialist* philosophy." Lenin in *Novaya Zhizn* Dec. 16, 1905.

supplies the devotee with an ideal and a faith to which he is fanatically attached. For it he is prepared to suffer and make sacrifices; its opponents he regards as the enemies not only of Russia but of the whole human race.

But in addition their Philosophy of History assigns a very sinister rôle to religion. It is the invention of rogues playing on the credulity of fools; it is also one of the principal instruments used for the exploitation of the working classes. "Marx said 'religion is the opium of the people,' and this postulate is the corner stone of the whole philosophy of Marxism on religion." [1] It reconciles men to "their lot." It inculcates a slavish obedience to authorities and to conditions that ought to be destroyed. The patience that it preaches is not a virtue but a support for the worst of vices,—the root of all evil, the exploitation of man by man. The life hereafter, with its promised compensations and redress for the injustices and sufferings here below, is especially harmful. Thus where the ages have seen—if I may so express myself—one of the chief natural claims of religion, the hope that it holds out to the miserable and oppressed of this world, the help it gives them the better to bear their heavy lot, there precisely is to be found its main offence in the eyes of the Bolsheviks.[2] It is because religion so successfully nourishes this slavish contentment and thus acts as the powerful agent of the exploiting classes, because in addition it deflects interest from the class struggle and, in its stressing of the importance of the individual soul, prevents the individual losing himself in the collectivist society, that an attitude of indifference to it is impossible for the convinced Bolshevik; it must be destroyed; it is essentially "counter-revolutionary";

[1] Lenin in *Proletarii* May 1909.

[2] *Cf.* Yaroslavski: *Religion in the U.S.S.R.* p. 35. "The clergy continue as hitherto to hoodwink the people, assuaging their rising rebelliousness with such quackery as 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, blessed are those who hunger and thirst.'"

it is guilty of the crime that above all others in the new decalogue merits the supreme penalty ! [1]

With religion must go " bourgeois " morality. Too long have they given each other mutual support—they are both equally false, both the compliant tools of the exploiting classes. Morality must be remade. A new moral code in full harmony, not with the aims of bourgeois society, but with the entirely new social order that is in process of being established must come into operation.[2] Herein Bolshevism is consistent : having uprooted the foundation it no longer tries to keep the superstructure. What an acute critic once called the philosophic scandal of moralists being poles apart when undertaking to supply a metaphysical foundation for their ethics and yet in complete agreement on the actual conduct that men are bound to follow does not exist in this case. There is not the usual lag between speculation and practice. True, even elsewhere the present generation when it has dropped Christianity has shown itself more ready than its

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[1] Hence Lenin is not satisfied with a mere theoretical refutation of religion—the adoption of any such course is due to the manoeuvres of bourgeois culture. " The fight against religion must not be limited or reduced to abstract-ideological preaching. This struggle must be linked up with the concrete practical class movement ; its aim must be to eliminate the social roots of religion. . . . . In modern capitalist countries the basis of religion is primarily *social*. The roots of modern religion are deeply embedded in the social oppression of the working masses, and in their apparently complete helplessness before the blind forces of capitalism. " Fear created the Gods." Fear of the blind forces of capitalism—blind because its action cannot be foreseen by the masses—a force which at every step in life threatens the worker and the small business-man with " unexpected " " accidental " destruction and ruin. . . . . This is *the taproot* of modern religion which first of all and above all the materialist must keep in mind, if he does not wish to remain stuck for ever in the infant school of materialism."—Lenin *loc. cit.*

[2] " Is there any such thing as communist morality ? Of course there is . . . . In what sense do we deny ethics and morals ? In the sense in which they are preached by the bourgeoisie, a sense which deduces these morals from God's commandments. Of course we say we do not believe in God. We know perfectly well that the clergy, the landlords and the bourgeoisie all claim to speak in the name of God in order to protect their own interests as exploiters . . . . . We deny all morality taken from superhuman or non-class conceptions. We say that this is a deception, a swindle, a befogging of the minds of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landlords and capitalists. We say that our morality is wholly subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. We deduce our morality from the facts and needs of the class struggle of the proletariat . . . . . A morality taken from outside of human society does not exist for us. It is a fraud.—For us morality is subordinated to the interests of the proletarian class struggle." Lenin to an All Russian Congress of the Young Communist League, Oct., 1920.

predecessors to discard openly the code traditionally connected with it. But, however numerous, however alarming in their rapid increase, these are but instances of individual revolt. In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, the issue is definitely knit.

The annihilation of religion and of the religious sentiments and ideas is the aim. The campaign of persecution is therefore not accidental, is not personal to the present rulers of Russia. What is accidental and foreign to the nature of Bolshevism, what is in conflict with the essentials of the situation, is anything in the nature of genuine toleration. If at times Bolshevism modifies its policy of direct and vigorous persecution, this is and, from the very nature of the case, must be only a matter of tactics. It is merely a recognition that religion has a stronger grip on the people than the more enthusiastic anti-God campaigners had believed, a realisation that too direct an onslaught is calculated to have the opposite effect to that intended and to produce dangerous reactions on the cause of atheism and the revolution. In the early days, also, the desire to avoid trying the masses, especially the peasants, too hard, and the conviction of the inevitableness of the speedy victory of their own view-point with the people, leading to the early and easy collapse of religion, help to explain the milder procedure at times adopted and the preference for propaganda over the cruder forms of persecution.

Toleration, then, is but a concession to weakness, just as was the New Economic Policy in the economic sphere. In neither case can we see any real surrender, any faltering concerning the ultimate goal. There has been no weakening of purpose, no intention to change direction, no recognition that their plans are not sound and capable of realisation. In the religious sphere a completely Godless Russia is the aim, a militant anti-God campaign the method of achievement.

With the campaign as a whole, with its spasms of

toleration alternating with the application of more violent persecution, it will obviously be impossible to deal now. To give even an inadequate picture of the sufferings of the Russian believers—confessors and martyrs—is clearly beyond the scope of an article. Perhaps also the time for such an attempt is not yet; a careful sifting of the material will be necessary. We can but hope that the future will prove just to these martyrs and to their cause. At present, in this as in all other matters, an accurate account of the events in Russia is really impossible. But even now from Bolshevist accounts themselves, from apologetics, explanations, records of achievements, the discerning reader can be left in no doubt of the actuality of a vigorous and repressive campaign of persecution—in the full sense—varying in intensity with the requirements of the government.

No amount of Bolshevist propaganda can conceal this main contention of their opponents, whatever attempts be made to throw doubt on some details and explain away their obvious significance. That propaganda has proved itself unrivalled in skill, unceasing energy, adaptability to circumstance, shrewdness and effectiveness. But neither that propaganda nor the stringent censorship of all news coming in or out of Russia or circulating within her frontiers, nor the absolute control of the Press and all printed matter by the Government and the Party, can do anything more than cause uncertainty concerning the exact degree of intensity of the campaign at a given moment and the precise character of the various methods adopted.

There is no legal proscription of religion. But a moment's consideration of the actual methods of the foes of religion will show how much such formal toleration is compatible with real and effective persecution. The spoliation of ecclesiastical property, the destruction of churches, the loading of the faithful with heavy charges for the upkeep of those in use, the conversion of religious

buildings to various secular uses, the inducements and pressure of all kinds (including the choice between work with its food-tickets and steadfastness in religious observances) with the object of forcing believers to commit open acts of impiety and blasphemy, the five-day working week leading to the observance of Sunday and Church holidays being regarded as bad citizenship, are evidence of how actual oppression can coexist with the legal "liberty of religious belief."

The whole time the people are at the mercy of a ceaseless propaganda against religion. For though there is "freedom for religious belief," there is freedom only for anti-religious propaganda. There is, conducted by the special societies founded for that purpose and enjoying the full patronage of the all-powerful Party, a continuous campaign of abuse, slander, misrepresentation and vilification of everything religious. Not merely are ministers of all religions held up to scorn and hatred. God Almighty Himself, His Son as well as the whole Court of Heaven are treated in the same manner. Even the unlettered do not escape the direct appeal of this propaganda; for them there are the loud-speaker, the cinema and the poster. "Refutations"—very often the repetition of age-worn arguments against religion—also play an important rôle, especially in the anti-religious papers. In practice there can be no really effective reply on the same scale; for religious publications, though not absolutely prohibited, are most severely handicapped. Little therefore is left undone to convince the people that religion is absurd, is their bitter enemy; that God is in league with the Tsars, the rich and the better-off peasants. Religious ideas are represented as standing for the perpetuation of needless poverty, suffering, inefficiency, backwardness. God is not identified with a beneficent all-wise Providence but with evil, oppression, injustice and drunkenness.[1]

[1] The necessity of combining both forms of propaganda—the theoretical and the social—is insisted on by the leaders. *Cf.* Lenin *loc. cit.* and also his article 1922 introducing the periodical *Under the Banner of Marxism*—since fallen into

In all this the zeal and energy displayed by these new apostles is astounding. For the genuine partyman, for the members of the allied organisations, for the Pioneers (from ten to sixteen or seventeen years of age) and the Komsomols (from fourteen to twenty-three) it is not a question of passive acceptance of atheism but of active identification with the cause. The activities of the Pioneers and the Komsomols merit special attention because they are the recruiting grounds for the devoted, convinced and trained upholders of Communism in the future. Also it is among these young people, of both sexes, that the greatest zeal and enthusiasm are to be found.

But were the Bolsheviks to limit their activities to persecution and proselytism of the kind described, even were they to intensify their efforts along these lines, probably the best result to which they could look forward would be only a half measure of success. They do not believe in half measures. The real menace of the onslaught is to be found elsewhere than in the murder, judicial or otherwise, of priests, the closing and destruction of

heresy—in which he insists on the importance of theoretical refutation and of translations of the atheistic classics for the masses. In this connection the following passages from Yaroslavsky *op. cit.* are illustrative :—

" Witness the mass-anti-religious movement, which is one of the *consequences* of the enormous social-economic changes which are taking place in our country " (italics mine). " The programme of our Party says ' The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guided by the conviction that only the conscious and deliberate planning of all the social and economic activities of the masses will cause religious prejudices to die out completely ' " p. 1. " An anti-religious centre must be created to assist the Communist Parties of all countries to guide this constantly growing movement against religion and the clergy, because this is a part of the class struggle and as such is not only inevitable, but an essential part of the struggle against the capitalist world, part of the struggle for Communism," pp. 10, 11. " Our Party is convinced that only when all social life, including economic life, proceeds according to a conscious, well thought-out plan, will religion lose its authority over the peasantry and over the working class " p. 19. " The more the method of planning penetrates every pore of our economy, the more profoundly the economic structure of the U.S.S.R. is changed, the broader becomes the bases of atheistic influence and the deeper is the ground ploughed for that consistently materialistic outlook which constitutes the basis of atheism," p. 56. " The further growth of Socialism in the town and country in the U.S.S.R. will inevitably lead to the dying out of religion. But it would be a great mistake to believe that religion will die out of itself. We have repeatedly emphasized Lenin's opinion that the Communist Party cannot depend on the spontaneous development of anti-religious ideas—that these ideas are moulded by organised action, p. 60. *Cf.* p. 1. " This does not imply that the Party should or does ignore the use of anti-religious propaganda, which helps to form the new atheist conceptions of the broad toiling masses."

churches, the persecution of all kinds to which believers are subjected. If there were never a priest executed or exiled to Siberia or a single pound's worth of ecclesiastical property confiscated, measures are being taken that are well calculated to bring the atheistic campaign to a successful conclusion in the course of a generation. Beside what, from the human point of view, may prove the almost irresistible momentum given to the campaign by these measures the other excesses of Bolshevik hatred are crude and of more doubtful efficiency. The measures to which I refer have to do with the training of the rising generation.

It is, of course, useful and, to some extent, necessary to capture as many as possible of the older generation, of those brought up under the influence of religious "ideology," but the conquest of the youth seems to the leaders to put the victory beyond doubt. No effort is spared to bring up the growing generation in Russia not exactly ignorant of religion, but bitterly hostile to it, and to infuse into the young, from the tenderest age onwards to manhood, a missionary zeal for the spread of atheism among their elders. The Soviet educational policy, the definite organisation of children and of young boys and girls for communistic and atheistic purposes, the emancipation from family control, the very "liquidation" of that bourgeois institution, the family, are measures particularly adapted to the end in view and better calculated to achieve their purpose than the customary methods of crude persecution.[1]

The vital importance of the school in shaping the character and influencing the destiny of a people has been recognised by the Churches and the State. Hence the rôle played in the politics of modern states by the question of the control and scope of education. The Soviet Government has not been behind in the task imposed on

[1] The more effectively to diminish their influence, the organised religious bodies are forbidden to undertake any kind of charitable or "social" work.

the school as the moulder of the future. The policy is at every moment to subordinate education to the one all absorbing aim, the success of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the intensification of class-consciousness, the making of the new man and the building up of the new society. On the school lies the heavy responsibility of fitting the youth intrusted to its care for their place in that New Russia, making them into workers with collectivist, class-conscious, communistic and anti-religious minds.

Speaking generally, much has been accomplished by the Soviet State in the schools. The work seems all the greater because the Tsarist Government had left so much undone. Thus in comparison with the previous age a definite advance, especially along certain lines, is to be recorded. Much undoubtedly has been accomplished in the struggle against illiteracy; here great determination has been shown and a considerable advance made. Even among the older generation, among those beyond school age, some progress is recorded. How the present condition as regards illiteracy can compare with that of other countries is a distinct question. But the new State started with such a decided handicap that any comparison with other states, except on educational aims and ideals, would be unfair.

It is about the aim that Soviet education sets before itself that very considerable doubts must arise—and this altogether apart from its attitude to religion. Knowledge is simply and solely an instrument; education is strictly utilitarian, closely connected with the work-processes of the surrounding society. Furthermore the communistic aim colours the whole. Hand-books, no matter what the subject, tend to be couched in Marxian phraseology. Politics of the Soviet brand pervades the whole instruction given, not merely that portion dealing with social relations. Everything must be utilised to light up the class-struggle. That history should be so treated, however perverted

views inevitably result, will surprise no one acquainted with Soviet mentality. Impartiality in education is but another clever bourgeois invention. The school is not something remote from life; it is a part of life and thus, like life, must be permeated with the class-struggle. Further, no doubt must be left on the impressionable mind of youth of the incomparable excellence of the Bolshevist system and all it stands for.

There can now be no question of neutrality in regard to religion.[1] Religion may not be taught in the schools belonging to the State, to a society or to a private person, nor may it be taught to anyone under eighteen years of age except in the secrecy of the family. No step that could be taken to substitute hatred of God for the reverence and love due to Him has been neglected. One of the principal functions of science is to provide a substitute as well as a solvent for religion. When the child has got the scientific explanation of natural events, he is in a position to have explained to him the "absurdities" of the religious point of view. He has continually before him in books and posters the superiority of Soviet science over the God of his fathers in dealing with natural phenomena and making them subservient to human needs. Fierce class-hatred and contempt for and hatred of religion are inculcated in the wall-posters in many of the schools and in the matter taught. From the tenderest age the minds are being systematically and thoroughly poisoned. Thus both in its positive and negative work the school "does its bit" in the campaign against God—positively through its indoctrination of the materialistic ideology of Bolshevism, negatively by continuously painting religion as the embodiment of what is false, despicable and evil.

But the inoculation of the young does not stop with

[1] *Cf.* Yaroslavsky, *op. cit.* p. 25. "Our decree says that schools are for teaching science and not for clogging the brains of children with religion. The school must not stand aloof in the struggle against religion; it must educate children in an anti-religious spirit, because it must not be forgotten that at present the home influence of the child is still religious. The school must counteract this harmful religious influence."

their reception of instruction. An active reaction is expected on their part. In the school and out of it they are expected to give expression to their anti-religious views. Articles in their wall-newspapers give them the opportunity within the schools. During recreation, according to one pedagogical authority, their minds ought to be filled with anti-religious thoughts. The children are also urged to take part in "socially useful work," and one of the principal activities of this kind in which they are expected to take part is the "liquidation" of religion, especially in the villages. How the school children are being indoctrinated with this idea of "liquidation" may be gauged from the following "wall-newspaper" extracts, the work of the children :—

> One thing our parents did learn, we must admit, was "religion" which made them even greater slaves of the capitalist class. And now our parents having been so subjected to their surroundings, their uncivilised condition is having a great effect. We children do not go their way, but a way of our own, a new way ; and we are establishing a new life. Therefore the strife between our parents and us is unavoidable. To us the Government is giving the opportunity to be educated and to participate in social work, and it is up to us children to enlighten our parents and destroy that uncultured state of theirs. Having once accomplished this, the parents will not disturb us in our enterprise, which means bringing a new life and freedom to the working masses of the world.
>
> Religion is a weapon against social construction. The class enemy, with its religious influence, is most dangerous in the villages, and therefore our Five-Year Plan includes not only rapid development of peoples' government, but also spreading anti-religious teaching widely among the working masses, because religion is an obstacle to the future of our Union.[1]

Education is, of course, not confined to the schools. This is, perhaps, more the case in Soviet Russia than in any other civilised country. The citizen, young or old, is undergoing an almost continuous process of mind

[1] Given in Thomas Woody *New Minds : New Men?* pp. 239-240. Many examples of pupils' contributions to "Wall Newspapers" are given in this work.

formation. The clubs, the reading rooms, the libraries, the wireless—all designed to produce better and better communists—and similar extra-scholastic agencies are very important factors in the education of the masses.

But there is one extra-scholastic agency for education which in some countries plays a rôle not inferior to the school—the family. The school is not everything; life and experience are at least quite as important; and the home is a potent factor. Perhaps hope for Russia can be found here? Cannot the parents, many of them still devoted to the Christian faith, do a great deal to correct the damage done in the schools? For the present some check may come from the family; but for the future one cannot speak. As in many other matters, the usual reversal of rôles is to be found here. It is no longer the parent who is made responsible for the moral training of his offspring. Rather is it the enthusiastic youth who has thrown on him the duty of winning over his parents to the belief and practice of atheism. Any attempt by the parents to exert pressure may easily lead to a successful appeal to the authorities.

The home, indeed, has with many been the object of special attack and obliquy. This Christian and "bourgeois" institution is threatened with destruction. Apart from a definitely formulated policy in this direction, the whole development in Russia tends to bring about this result. Family life, especially in the towns and cities, more and more gives way to life in public. A room or rooms in which to sleep is a poor bond. Life is becoming more communised. Nor can the women, now workers on exactly the same footing as their husbands and brothers, be hampered with household and family cares. True, some of the old habits and "prejudices" have shown a certain tenacity in the way in which they cling to life. But the new generation will have fewer of such prejudices to overcome. The control over children, especially, may soon belong to the past. A certain

amount of responsibility still rests on the parents—that of maintenance. But apparently even this is only a temporary phase—until the time when the State is economically in a position to undertake that burden.

Even the peasantry is in the process of being recast after the model of the town proletariat. The growth of the State-farm and the Collectivist-farm has done much to assimilate the conditions of labour and the manner of life of the farm worker to that of his fellow in the towns. Thus even in places where it seemed destined to survive all attacks the family is threatened.

What, then, is to be the fate of religion in the Union of Soviet Republics? *i.e.*, on the assumption of the continuance of the present regime in Russia? Were we to take account of natural and human forces alone, it would be impossible to give any but a doleful answer to this question. A remarkably well thought out plan is in operation to secure that in a comparatively short space of time religion will have practically disappeared. That is the aim. As far as can be achieved by a planned policy, a generation is being brought up that can have no sympathy with and no understanding of religion—a generation filled with all the bitterness of class-consciousness. With every problem approached with a strong anti-religious bias, what chance is there even for the awakening of even natural religion? Without divine intervention it might seem as if the rigid regimentation operating over a number of years and the new mind that is being created, with all its active aggressiveness, were destined to triumph over the resistance, heroic but often passive, of the defenders of the old. At any rate, we are witnesses of the most bitter and highly organized attack ever launched against the Christian religion, and it behoves us to remember that the ambition of the Bolsheviks is to convert the whole world to their ideals and that the active propaganda of their ideals has already begun in Ireland.

J. M. O'Sullivan

THE PROBLEM OF STIGMATIZATION

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

THE role of Devil's Advocate is a thankless one and does not make for popularity. Indeed I may confess that, when writing somewhat in the character of a doubting Thomas, I have felt at times, in spite of good intentions, that I was even playing a mean and unworthy part. Why, I have asked myself, should a sceptical line of argument be put forward which may possibly trouble the simple faith of many good people much nearer and dearer to God than I can ever hope to be? And yet in these days of wide-spread education, universal questioning and free discussion, a premature and ill-grounded credulity cannot in the long run be of advantage to the Church. The Christian has to be able to justify his beliefs, and adequate equipment for an encounter with rationalists or agnostics requires some previous study both of the position which it is intended to take up and of the form of attack to which that position may be exposed. Catholic apologetic must always be based at least in part on the reality of miracles. Any attempt to explain away the greater miracles of our Lord, or to deny the possibility that true miracles may be wrought even in our own day, would be incompatible with an honest acceptance of the Church's teaching. But, on the other hand, when new and remarkable manifestations are reported in connection with people of conspicuously holy life, there is often a tendency to acclaim them without further ado as if they must necessarily be of supernatural origin. It is quite possible, of course, that as faith weakens and science discovers marvels previously undreamed of, God in His good providence may have willed to come to the rescue of our unbelief and may multiply evidence to prove that His arm is not shortened. But in accepting such

phenomena as a reinforcement of the *motiva credendi* prudence enjoins that we must make sure of our ground. We have to meet adversaries who of late years have paid a vast amount of attention to the study of psychopathology, and even a very slender acquaintance with the literature of hysteria and other nervous disorders suffices to show how extensive is the vista of possibilities which has been opened up, and also how great are the perplexities with which the whole subject is beset.

In the last two issues of the periodical *Etudes Carmélitaines* much space is devoted to the case of Teresa Neumann. Among other contributions an article of Dr. R. van der Elst concerns itself specially with the stigmata, giving less prominence to the attendant manifestations (inedia, xenoglossia, hierognosis etc.[1]). "It will be much to the point," this writer says, "to consider the stigmata by themselves, because the stigmata are evidently the principal fact round which all the others turn. The stigmatization is the central phenomenon, which the others may complicate, but which is itself capable of explaining all the rest." Without necessarily agreeing with this dictum, it affords a convenient basis for orderly treatment, and it is plain that we must take things one at a time.

On the other hand, I venture to urge that to obtain a just view we cannot possibly discuss Teresa Neumann's stigmata as if hers were the only case known in history. There have been literally hundreds of other cases,[2] regarding some fifty of which we are fully informed, although the rest are inadequately recorded. It is the neglect of kindred examples which strikes me as the weak

[1] *Etudes Carmélitaines*, Oct. 1932, pp. 87-124; this periodical appears only twice a year, October and April. Dr. van der Elst is also the author of the article "Stigmates" in the *Dictionnaire d'Apologétique*.

[2] Dr. Imbert-Gourbeyre's book *La Stigmatisation* (2 vols., 1894), while it is most useful as the fullest collection of cases, is irritating both from its entire lack of historical criticism and from its pretension to constitute a complete record. On the one hand it includes a vast number of cases in which the pain of the wounds was said to have been felt but in which there were no external marks; on the other it says nothing of many well-attested examples of bleeding stigmata which the author's researches have missed. Above all it fails to realise that there are numbers of instances which pass unheeded outside the walls of the cloister in which they occur.

point of nearly all that has been written about the stigmatica of Konnersreuth.[1] Reference is occasionally made to a few well-known mystics who have exhibited similar phenomena—to Anne Catherine Emmerich, for example, to Louise Lateau or to Gemma Galgani; but what is to be said about the stigmatizations of the same external character occurring in other persons in whom we find them associated with much that is strange and disconcerting? None of the writers who treat of Teresa Neumann in accord with the views of the Konnersreuth Kreis take any notice of such people as Marie Julie Jahenny, Palma d'Oria, la Madre Costante, Juliana Weiskircher, Georges Marasco, etc. It is the occurrence in these cases of a pronounced type of "conversion hysteria" which constitutes to my mind the real difficulty of the problem.

If I propose then to set down here certain doubts which suggest themselves concerning the supernatural character of stigmata in general, this is not because I entertain any misgivings as to the facts recorded of Teresa Neumann's phenomena or as to the holy life which she leads, but simply because in the literature accessible to me I find no indication that these difficulties have been taken into account. The difficulties are not conclusive arguments, and they may quite possibly have an adequate answer; but on the surface they seem to me to point to the conclusion that stigmatization may be the result of what I will venture to call a "crucifixion complex" working itself out in subjects whose abnormal suggestibility may be inferred from the unmistakable symptoms of hysteria which they had previously exhibited.

I

And first of all we have the striking fact that not a single case of stigmatization was heard of before the

[1] ["The Stigmatica of Konnersreuth" is the title of an article by Father Thurston in STUDIES, March 1929.—Editor].

beginning of the thirteenth century. No sooner, however, was the extraordinary phenomenon which marked the last days of the seraphic St. Francis published throughout the world, than other unquestionable cases of stigmata began to occur among quite simple people and have continued to occur without intermission ever since. What I infer is that the example of St. Francis created what I have called the " crucifixion complex." Once it had been brought home to contemplatives that it was possible to be physically conformed to the sufferings of Christ by bearing His wound-marks in hands, feet and side, then the idea of this form of union with their Divine Master took shape in the minds of many. It became in fact a pious obsession ; so much so that in a few exceptionally sensitive individuals the idea conceived in the mind was realised in the flesh.

II

If the suggestion just made were well-founded, we should expect to find that the exteriorisation of the " crucifixion complex " would vary much in degree according to the suggestibility of the particular subject. But this is in fact what actually happens. It is noteworthy that in a good many cases the development never goes any further than a certain deep reddening of the skin or the formation of something resembling a blood-blister in the site of each of the wounds.[1] It is equally noteworthy that the form and position of these wounds or markings vary greatly. In some instances the wound in the side is on the right, in others on the left. Sometimes we have a round puncture, sometimes a straight cut, sometimes a crescent-shaped wound. When Gemma Galgani showed in her body the marks of the scourging, marks which bled profusely, we are told that these wounds closely

[1] See, for example, the case of Mary Beatrice Schumann of Pfarrkirchen (Passau) who died in 1887, as recorded in her life (*Das verborgene Leben etc.*, 1914) by W. Maier. She had such marks for over 30 years, but they did not bleed. An early example of the same kind was that of Pirona Hergods of Mechlin (†1472), and a quite recent one that of Mary Agnes Steiner of Nocera (†1909).

corresponded in size and in position with the wounds depicted in a big crucifix before which she was accustomed to pray.[1] When Anne Catherine Emmerich was first marked with a cross on her breast, it is stated that this was a Y-shaped cross, reproducing the form of a crucifix at Coesfeld to which she had great devotion in her childhood.[2] All these things seem to point to an auto-suggested effect rather than to the operation of an external cause whatever its nature.

III

Again, although the war has shown us that hysteria is not, as was once supposed, an exclusively feminine disorder, still it remains true that at normal times, and especially under the conditions in which girls were formerly brought up, women were and are much more subject to hysterical fits than men. Now while in the course of the last seven centuries there have been an immense number of female mystics about whose complete stigmatization no doubt is possible, there are only two quite clear cases of men being externally marked with all the five wounds.[3] Moreover even here we have no evidence of periodic bleeding on successive Fridays, such as is common in female stigmatics. The natural inference would seem to be that what predisposes to the reception of the stigmata is not unusual virtue, but some form of nervous susceptibility, more often met with in women than in men. The physically vigorous saints, such as St. Vincent of Paul, St. Francis Xavier, the great mystic St. John of the Cross, St. Alphonsus Liguori, St. Paul of the Cross, St. Francis of Sales, St. Philip Neri, St. John Baptist Vianney, and countless others were not favoured with the

[1] See Father Germanus, *The Life of Gemma Galgani* (Eng. Trans.), p. 69.
[2] Schmöger, *Life of A. C. Emmerich* (Eng. Trans.) I, p. 4.
[3] Dr. Imbert Gourbeyre enumerates many male stigmatics, but this is due to the fact that he includes all who are said to have suffered the pain of the wounds though they bore no external marks, and also some who are supposed to have been marked in one or two members alone. St. Francis of Assisi and Padre Pio of Foggia, however, are examples of complete stigmatization.

stigmata, in spite of the devotion to our Lord's Passion and the intense desire of suffering conspicuous in all of them. But not a few devout women who have never been beatified and whose history points to a certain extravagance of sensibility, have been thus honoured and have periodically enacted the scenes of the Passion, with bleeding from all the five wounds.

IV

So far as records are preserved concerning the early history of stigmatised persons I venture to say that there is hardly a single case in which there is not evidence of the previous existence of a complication of nervous disorders before the stigmata developed. That does not mean that the person thus bearing the marks of Christ's Passion was otherwise than good and even saintly from the very beginning. It is simply a question of the pathological conditions. I recently called attention elsewhere to the health record in their early years of Gemma Galgani and of the Syrian Carmelite, Sister Mary of Jesus Crucified.[1] Let me illustrate my point now by a reference to a very much earlier case, that of the nun Lukardis at Oberweimar, who is said to have been stigmatised for 28 years, dying on 22nd March, 1309, less than a hundred years after St. Francis of Assisi. Her biographer was a contemporary who knew her personally, and the modern Bollandists who have edited the life pronounce the narrative to be fully worthy of credit. We are told that, having entered a Cistercian convent when only a child, Lukardis, still in her teens, was made infirmarian for half a year, and then fell ill. She lost all power of grasping things with her hands. She could not even hold a stick to support herself with. "She had all the pains of the stone, of quartan and tertian fevers, and she frequently fainted away." The doctors could make nothing of her case. "At times she seemed,

[1] See *The Month*, March 1931, pp. 241-242.

as it were, to be beaten in each hand, so that her fingers, knocking against each other, resounded like castanets." Most unmistakable of all, we are told that " when she was lying in bed there were occasions when her feet became rooted underneath her and her head sank down, while her stomach and chest were thrust upwards, so that she made a sort of arch of herself with a sharp curvature." This is surely a remarkable description of the opisthonic spasm well known in hospitals for nervous disorders. She was paralysed and bed-ridden for eleven years ; but while she had the use of her limbs, it is stated that " the servant of God, sometimes in the day-time, sometimes at night, started running with such headlong speed that the most vigorous of men could not have kept it up without getting exhausted. At one time she ran round and round, at another straight on . . . when she had not space to run she came into violent collision with the wall. There were also occasions when lying down she spun round for a long time like a joint roasting before the fire." [1] Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of all, one which I hold it impossible for the biographer to have invented, is the allegation that for a considerable space of time she used to stand upon her head, or more precisely upon her head and shoulder, with her feet in the air, but nevertheless with her dress clinging to her legs as if it had been tightly sewn to them. It certainly would be hard to maintain that Lukardis was a quite normal person either before she received the stigmata or afterwards.

Another case of a stigmatica with pronounced hysterical symptoms is that of la Madre Costante (Anna Maria Castreca). She died (A.D. 1736) in the odour of sanctity as Abbess of an austere community of Capuchin nuns, but in her early life, both as a girl in the world and as a young religious, she exhibited every characteristic of this

[1] The " Vita Venerabilis Lukardis " has been printed from the only known MS. in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xviii (1899), pp. 310-367. The details mentioned above will be found on pp. 312-313.

form of malady. She had paralysis, and anorexias and vomitings, as well as amnesias and fugues.[1] When a novice of over twenty years of age, a dissociated personality suddenly emerged, and for several months together Anna Maria prattled away like a child of five and had to begin to learn the alphabet over again. Further we are told how, in the presence of all the nuns, she would fall down in a fit marked with the most horrible spasms and contortions, "her neck twisted awry and her leg bending the wrong way, so that sometimes the point of her foot touched the abdomen." [1]

V

No doubt such attacks as those just described occur independently of the stigmatization and for the most part are antecedent to it, but they belong to the atmosphere, and one asks whether God can have chosen such a setting for a miracle to manifest His glory. In the case of Lukardis it is impossible to determine exactly the order of events, but this at least we know that the good nun whilst still bedridden, when the Friday ecstasy came on, used, in a state of rigid catalepsy, to stretch out her arms as if she was being crucified, and to put one foot over the other. After eleven years she suddenly recovered from her paralysis and could then stand and walk. In future the cataleptic seizure on Fridays came upon her when she was erect, and we are told that each time for something like three hours she stood upon one foot, but otherwise unsupported, with her arms stretched out horizontally from the shoulders and with the second foot pressed tightly upon the instep of the first. During Lent she stood thus every day, but the stigmata only bled on Fridays.[2]

In the case of other stigmaticas we read of scenes hardly less strange. Elizabeth of Herkenrode (†1275) in

[1] Butti, *Vita della Madre Costante Maria Castreca* (1745), p. 55.
[2] *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xviii, pp. 327-328.

enacting the scenes of the Passion, her stigmata bleeding the while, used to pull herself by the hair and beat her head against the ground over and over again. Also when lying on her back at these seasons in a state of unconsciousness—whether we call it ecstasy or trance—she used to rain blows upon her breast with extraordinary force and violence.[1] Nearly six hundred years later Dr. Dei Cloche, a devout Catholic, who printed a medical report upon the case of Domenica Lazzari, tells us how " with tightly clasped hands she often showered blows upon her breast with intense violence, so that the noise was past belief. . . The gnashing of her teeth was continuous and so loud that it might be compared to the noise of a furious and hungry dog gnawing a bone, or to the grinding of an enormous file applied by vigorous arms to a bar of iron."[2] None the less, Domenica, like Teresa Neumann, maintained an absolute fast from food and drink. It began in 1834 and lasted to her death in 1848. When on one occasion the doctor persuaded her to allow a small fragment of sugar to be placed upon her tongue, she at once had a fit which continued for twenty minutes, in the course of which the spasm of vomiting was so violent that she almost choked. Even the smell of a piece of toast brought about a contortion of all the muscles of her face and for a short time she fainted away. Was not this simply hysteria, or are we to regard it as a supernatural manifestation of God's almighty power ? The bleeding of the wounds in Domenica's case was almost continuous on Fridays. No one has ever suggested that she was otherwise than a good and devout woman. She was bedridden, she sought no publicity, she accepted no presents, and I for one find it impossible to believe that the devil can have been allowed for all those long years to deceive priests and people by a counterfeit holiness.

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[1] See the Bollandist Catalogue of the Hagiographical MSS. of Brussels, vol. I., p. 370.

[2] See the *Annali Universali di Medicina*, vol. 84 (1837), pp. 261-262

VI

Yet another difficulty offers itself in connection with the " revelations " of such stigmaticas as A. C. Emmerich and Teresa Neumann. In both cases we have not only visions of our Lord's Passion, but also of the sufferings of the saints—for example, of the martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria. Now in this instance both the visionaries simply reproduce the traditional legend. They recount the public debate between Catherine and the fifty philosophers, most of whom are converted and then perish as martyrs in the flames, the bursting of the wheel by which she was to have been put to death, finally her decapitation and the flowing of blood and milk from her neck.[1] Similarly Teresa Neumann sees Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, Martha and others put into a boat without sails or rudder, but nevertheless traversing the Mediterranean in safety and landing in the south of France, where Mary Magdalen hides herself in a cave and lives for another thirty years before death comes to release her.[2] Both these legends are, on the best of grounds, rejected by modern hagiographers as pure romance, but Teresa Neumann sees them in her visions, exactly, no doubt, as Pfarrer Naber pictures them to himself in accord with the story current in popular lives of the saints. Have we any ground for supposing that Teresa's descriptions of the Passion, which conflict in many points with other revelations—e.g. with those of St. Bridget of Sweden —are more veridical than those of earlier mystics ? And if she may be deceived here, can we put trust in her pronouncements regarding relics and other matters as if she were speaking in the name of our Lord Himself ?

VII

Lastly I venture to lay some stress upon the resemblance between Teresa Neumann's different phases of

[1] Gerlich, *Die Stigmatisierte Therese Neumann*, vol. I, p. 273; Schmöger *Life of A. C. Emmerich* (Eng. Trans.), vol. II, p. 538.
[2] Gerlich, l.c., pp. 258-259.

consciousness and those cases of multiple personality which recent study of abnormal psychology has made familiar. We find that when Teresa ("Resl") is in "the state of exalted repose" (*Zustand der erhobenen Ruhe*) a voice speaking through her lips may reply to a questioner: "Thou (*du*) canst not speak to Resl now, she is asleep," or "This afternoon at four o' clock she will enter on the Passion." What intelligence is it which thus makes answer and utters prophecies about the future which are regularly verified? Kaplan Fahsel[1] and Dr. Gerlich[2] do not hesitate to maintain that it is Christ our Lord who speaks. But surely anyone who has studied, for example, the Doris Fischer case of multiple personality, so competently observed and expounded by Dr. Walter Franklin Prince, must pause before accepting this conclusion. When Doris was to all appearance at the very point of death "a voice suddenly issued from her lips, though no other feature moved: 'You must get her out of this; she is in danger'; and then 'shake her harder; hurry, hurry!'" Psychologists are satisfied that this voice was only that of another personality of the real Doris, a personality which afterwards came to be known as "Sleeping Margaret."[3] I can see no reason to suppose that the spoken words uttered by Teresa in the state of exalted repose come from any other source than a dissociated personality of Teresa herself. One might be more inclined to doubt if it were not perfectly plain that a second dissociated personality comes into play in the so-called "state of absorption" (*Zustand des Eingenommenseins*), when, as we know, Teresa speaks like a little child of five might speak, when she cannot understand what the word Pope means, and instead of announcing that she sees six people, says one and one and one, etc. six times.

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[1] Fahsel, *Konnersreuth; Tatsachen und Gedanken* (1932), pp. 71-72.

[2] See the letter of Gerlich quoted by Dom Mager in *Etudes Carmélitaines*, April, 1933, pp. 103-104.

[3] The case is reported at great length in the Proceedings of the American Society for Psychical Research, vols. IX, X, and XI.

These are some of the doubts which suggest themselves in connexion with the alleged supernatural character of the stigmatization phenomena. Let me repeat that I quite recognise that an answer may be forthcoming, but it seems to me a pity that little has been said on these matters in such big books as those of Gerlich and De Hovre; not to speak of the many minor publications and articles in which the case of Teresa Neumann has been discussed. There are some other points upon which I should have liked to dwell if space had admitted. The intense desire of Lukardis to have the marks of our Saviour's Passion imprinted on her own members, a desire which led her even to seek to bore holes in her hands and feet by gesture and act, is a very striking fact; for this preceded by a long time the actual development of the stigmata. There is much that is beautiful in the vision which attended the gratification of her longings. Hysterical though she was, no one can read the account without realising that she was a deeply religious woman. And it is noteworthy that she was greatly revered by her fellow religious and that both in life and after her death she was believed to work many miracles. Finally, let me observe that, so far as regards Teresa Neumann, doubts similar to those here expressed have been strongly urged in other quarters. An article by Father E. Raitz von Frentz, S.J., in the *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* for April 1933, is especially worthy of notice; and Dom Mager, O.S.B. has recently called attention to a remarkable case of stigmatization produced by subsequent hypnotic suggestion on a hysterical subject who had been deeply affected by a film representation of our Lord's Passion on Good Friday.[1]

HERBERT THURSTON

[1] The case, I understand, has been studied in detail by Dr. A. Lechler in a brochure entitled *Das Rätsel Konnersreuth im Lichte eines neuen Falles von Stigmatisation* (Elberfeld, 1933), in which photographs of the stigmata are reproduced. Unfortunately I have not yet been able to procure a copy of this work.

"LA CROIX" AND ITS FOUNDER

1832—1932

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

WE all know *La Croix* by name—the great French Catholic daily paper—though few of us have had opportunities of reading it or of knowing much about it. So the recent golden jubilee of its foundation which, with impressive religious demonstrations, has been celebrated in Paris, has provided a welcome opportunity for learning something of its history, its methods of propaganda and the secret of its really phenomenal success. Moreover, very wisely, its directors, the owners of that great publishing business, the *Maison de la Bonne Presse*, resolved to combine with the jubilee the centenary that fell a few months earlier, of the birth of Père Vincent de Paul Bailly, the first editor and creator of *La Croix*, and a priest as heatedly discussed in his own day as Lacordaire was discussed a generation earlier. Something of a parallel might indeed be worked out between these two picturesque figures, drawn in various ways to the religious life, in regard to their vitality, their courage to embark on new enterprises and to face criticism and hostility for the cause in which they believed, and above all to their single-hearted devotion to the Church and to France, seen by them almost as a single entity. But while the Dominican was primarily a man of intellect and learning and of a high and penetrating eloquence who had been drawn by circumstance into the tumult of political life, the Assumptionist was of humbler mould, a man of indefatigable energy, of marked administrative capacity and endowed, in addition, with that indefinable *flair* that is part of the essential equipment of the journalist. For the true journalist, as we know, is born and not made, and on the surface it appears as an amazing freak of fortune that one of the most brilliant journalists of his day should have been discovered hidden under a

religious habit. Perhaps the situation is best summed up in the words of his friend and superior, Père Picard, when he said that the sending to them of Père Bailly was a clear indication of what Providence expected of them.

One is apt to think of a monk editor as one who has emerged from his cell at the command of his superior in order to undertake a task for which he can have had little or no previous experience or natural aptitude. Nothing, of course, could be farther from the facts where Père Bailly was concerned. It is the simple truth that he did not find his true vocation until he entered religion in his thirtieth year: all the outstanding events and enlightening experiences of his life—in camp, in barracks, in exile, on pilgrimages—belong to his cloistered years, while his earlier life, diligent and honourable as it was, gave no particular promise of the exceptional and public career that was to follow.

He had been born in comfortable circumstances, his father, an ex-professor, Emmanuel-Joseph Bailly, being a devout layman who, after the Restoration, co-operated both with time and money in the building up of the Catholic life of France. His interests were concentrated mainly on the students of the Sorbonne, for whose religious and moral benefit he founded various *oeuvres* such as the *Société des Bonnes Etudes*. He also embarked boldly on a Catholic newspaper, the *Tribune Catholique*, of interest from the fact that later it changed its name to the *Univers*, and, under Louis Veuillot, became a veritable power in the journalistic world. Another noteworthy fact about Bailly *père* is that he was the main founder as well as the first President of the Vincent de Paul Conferences, the credit for which is apt to be given too exclusively to his brilliant and enthusiastic co-worker, Frédéric Ozanam.[1] Thus, through boyhood, Vincent de Paul

[1] The *Catholic Encyclopedia* falls into the curious error of giving *Père* Bailly as first president at a date when he was still in his cradle.

enjoyed all the advantages of a Catholic and intellectual home life, and, on completing his studies, entered the Telegraph Department of the Civil Service and for a time acted as confidential telegraphist to Napoleon III. at the Tuileries. During these years, we are told, he heard Mass daily and devoted much of his leisure to "patronage" work and other forms of active Catholic charity.

Probably the first seeds of his vocation were sown during some months that he spent at Nîmes on his official duties, when he boarded in the Assumption College recently founded there by Père d'Alzon, an old family friend and a man of strong individuality. Yet it was not till seven years later (1860) that he entered the novitiate, being followed soon after by his younger brother, Emmanuel. The gain that the two brothers were to the then struggling little Congregation may be gauged from a remark in a letter from Père d'Alzon written shortly after: "If we could only get a dozen like the Bailly brothers our prospects would be fair indeed."

Père Bailly's journalistic days were still far off, however, and his preliminary training was to be pursued under the most unexpected circumstances. Four quiet years as superior of the College at Nîmes were brought to a close by the sudden invasion of the Papal States in the autumn of 1867 and by the appointment of Père Bailly as chaplain to the enthusiastic young Catholics of Nîmes who volunteered for service in the Papal army. The contingent joined the Papal Zouaves under Colonel de Charette three days after the battle of Mentana and was enrolled in the 3rd battalion, their company commander being a certain Captain Wiart. And it is worth recording that the warm friendship that sprang up between chaplain and captain during the long months spent together in camp, first at Monte Rotondo and then above Rocca di Papa, where Pius IX himself visited his troops, was destined to be renewed a quarter of a century later, when the chaplain was editor-in-chief of a great

daily paper and the captain was Abbot General of the Reformed Cistercians. Both had thus spent themselves at a critical moment in the active service of the papacy, an experience which set its seal on the intense personal loyalty to the Holy See which was to be a marked characteristic of Père Bailly's career whether as priest or journalist.

After a few months of quiet pastoral work in Paris under Père Picard in the then newly-founded house in the Rue François-1er—at a time when Louis Veuillot reported of the community that the food was bad but the talk was good—war with Germany broke out and once more the monastery was exchanged for the regiment. The number of official chaplains to the forces being utterly inadequate, Père d'Alzon took the bold resolution of sending out five of his religious—among them the two Bailly brothers—as unattached chaplains to follow the army as best they might and render all possible religious aid to the wounded and dying. It was a difficult and hazardous duty, well-suited to Père Bailly's ardent energies and resourcefulness. Attached with Père Pernet to the army corps of Metz, the two Assumptionists endured the siege, attending to the spiritual needs of some 15,000 wounded, and then followed the interned French troops to Mainz. Here they were the only French priests for 28,000 soldiers, and the months spent there were of the nature of a prolonged mission—preaching, instructing, reconciling and preparing for First Communion—an experience giving to the Assumptionist fathers a new appreciation of the spiritual destitution of vast masses of the French nation.

Only a few weeks intervened between the hardships of Mainz and the horrors of the Paris Commune. Père Picard and Père Bailly hurried back to the capital on the first news of the outbreak of violence, watching, as helpless spectators, all that followed and, like Count Albert de Mun, carrying through life an ineffaceable memory of

those days of bloodshed and hatred as a continual spur to their ceaseless labours for the re-christianising of France.

It is unnecessary to follow the future journalist through the many religious activities that filled the ensuing years. It was his infectious enthusiasm for pilgrimages—before the end of his life he had been 28 times to Jerusalem—that proved the immediate inspiration of his fresh vocation. A feeble little pious journal, *Le Pélerin*, had existed for some years, with a few hundred subscribers, ostensibly with the aim of exhorting the faithful to visit Lourdes, La Salette and so forth. In January, 1877, the Assumptionists took over the publication with Père Bailly as editor, and in two years the circulation had risen to 80,000 and was ultimately to reach half a million. The born journalist had revealed himself and the modern Catholic press was founded. Illustrations, then a novel feature, varied news and short lives of saints were lavishly provided, but the effective change lay in the presentment of the material and in the personality of the editor.

The possibilities of press propaganda once revealed to them, it became obvious that a weekly pilgrimage magazine offered far too limited a scope for the aims of the Assumptionist fathers. A serious monthly review, the *Croix-Revue*, was first planned (1880), frankly as a *journal de combat*, with Père Vincent de Paul as editor, to fight freemasonry in its attacks on the Church in France. In the words of its editor, it marked the inauguration of a new crusade of the Cross, not against the Crescent as of yore, but against the Triangle, even more devastating in its effects. He promised that the review would never be timid, never merely on the defensive, but that it would stand at all times for Catholic truth in all its plenitude and would always be found in the vanguard of the fight.

Yet almost from the first the inadequacy of a monthly review for carrying out so ambitious a programme made itself felt, and the ardent combative spirit of Père Bailly

yearned for a daily organ as essential for effective controversy. Various difficulties had to be overcome, the greatest of all being the complete lack of available capital. Moreover in order to penetrate among the people it was essential to publish the paper at a halfpenny. It was June, 1883, and Père Bailly had passed his fiftieth birthday before preliminaries could be arranged and the Assumptionists could launch their venture of faith. The daily *Croix* started literally without a penny; but the scheme appealed to a large body of Catholics, and within a fortnight 5,000 advance subscriptions had been received. Moreover, it had at its back all the material aid that an active and zealous Congregation could supply in various centres. From the outset its success was assured, and within a few months its circulation had risen to 30,000, a very large number for a French newspaper in those days.

Even from the first, however, *La Croix* was destined to meet not only with the abuse of its enemies but with the criticism of friends. The government of the day made itself ridiculous and shewed its distrust of the new Catholic organ by threatening an action against the paper for calling itself a "journal à un sou," the term "sou" not being recognised in the official decimal system. The *Croix* at once submitted and advertised its price correctly as at 5 cents, but naturally made merry at the expense of the authorities.

Far more serious difficulties arose over the determination of Père Bailly to print a crucifix at the head of his front page. Timid Catholics were scandalised and many thought quite genuinely—and indeed still think—that it was a mistake to place the sacred emblem on a sheet which in effect did descend into the arena of party politics and controversies and which lay about in all sorts of places. Vigorous and repeated representations were made to the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Guibert, who, hesitating to intervene in person, appealed to Cardinal

Pitra, a personal friend of the Assumptionists, and he, in his turn, counselled a withdrawal. The advice was promptly acted upon by Père Bailly, but the effect on the circulation proved disastrous. Protests from readers poured in, and within a few weeks the sales had dropped from 30,000 to 14,000. As a result Cardinal Guibert withdrew his objections, the crucifix re-appeared on the front page (Palm Sunday, 1884), and the circulation—save during the first months of the "ralliement" period—has never seriously fallen and is now reckoned at about 400,000 daily.

It is sometimes overlooked, thanks to the prevailing habit of personifying every movement, that it was not Père Bailly, but the Assumptionist Order that founded and controlled the *Croix* and all its satellites up to their withdrawal in 1900, and that without the powerful support of an active and enterprising young community the work of creating a real fighting Catholic press in France, for it was no less, could never have progressed so rapidly. The Assumptionists guaranteed the orthodoxy of the paper, and their pupils and disciples all over the country pushed its circulation by every means, such as church-door and street sales, by volunteer sellers. Père Picard, who succeeded Père d'Alzon as Superior-General, intervened on all momentous occasions with an article signed "le Père"—in contradistinction to Père Bailly who invariably signed "le Moine"—expounding the fundamental policy of the paper. He it was who laid down that the aim of the paper was to be Catholic, and nothing but Catholic, neither legitimist nor Orleanist, fighting the battles of the Church but not fighting the Republic as such. None the less it was Père Bailly who was the active, directing and marvellously successful editor, the "Moine" who, in the public eye, figured as the real and responsible head. His amazing energy, his varied knowledge, his happy gift for ruling a large staff, all contributed to make him an ideal editor of a popular journal. In a very real sense he was

a founder of the new journalism, much as W. T. Stead was in England at the same period, turning to journalistic account every new invention, every fresh discovery and quick to see what his Catholic public liked. The *Croix* was frankly written for the people in general—just as the *Univers* under Veuillot was intended for the educated Catholic—and thanks to it thousands of families in the remoter parts of France became converted to the newspaper reading habit. That his facile, brilliant writing, aided by his keen eye for all the weak spots in his adversary's armour, was often provocative and occasionally lacking in Christian charity, especially where freemasons were concerned, no one can deny. The older among us can remember the torrents of abuse that were poured out upon Père Bailly, not only by his political opponents—that was to be expected—but by Catholics who were not merely timid and compromising, but who genuinely felt that in exceptionally difficult times for the Church in France he was adding fuel to the fire and increasing the religious antagonism that threatened to sever the nation in two irreconcilable parts. And we may assume that it was that aspect of the situation, vividly and authoritatively represented at the Vatican, that caused Leo XIII in 1900, in the hope of averting further calamities from the religious orders in France, to request the Assumptionists to withdraw wholly from their responsibility for the *Croix*. As is well-known, the order was immediately and implicitly obeyed. Père Bailly, in the heat of the battle, laid down, once and for all, his journalistic pen, and withdrew absolutely from current controversies.

It has to be remembered that the fighting years of Père Bailly's editorship were years of acute crisis for the Church in France, when a strong and convinced partisan, a leader in active opposition to the Government of the day on its religious policy, could not fail to make enemies and could scarcely avoid, in the heat of controversy, falling into an occasional blunder. In all essentials the

Croix remained faithful to its avowed aims. When, in 1892, Leo XIII made his celebrated appeal to the French Catholics to rally to the Republican form of government established in their country, the attitude of the *Croix* was irreproachable, in spite of the fact that its readers were drawn largely from the royalist parties and that its loyalty to papal instructions alienated a considerable number of its earlier adherents. When the first insidious attacks on the religious orders were made by administrative decree, the acumen of Père Bailly in foreseeing the openly persecuting policy that was to follow could scarcely be blamed. On the other hand, when the *Croix* organised a special secretariat for the express purpose of preparing electoral lists and running Catholic candidates, pledged to oppose the Government on religious grounds, it became difficult to persuade its opponents that it was still faithful to its programme to abstain from politics. The only answer was that the work was badly needed and that no one else would undertake it.

The crucifix on the front page proved a true symbol of the whole paper. From the first page to the last it was and remained boldly Catholic and religious. It was Père Bailly's constant reminder to his staff never to write an article that could be signed by a Protestant or a free-thinker. He himself had an unique gift for drawing a moral from the most unlikely topic, and his up-to-date methods were never at variance with the fundamental aim that was ever before him: to make the French nation Christian. Perhaps no one has summed up more happily just what he accomplished as a monk-editor than Père Vassal, S.J., writing after his death in the "Messenger of the Sacred Heart": "It was precisely because he was a religious, that is to say, free from all personal preoccupations, and was helped and seconded by his brethren, that he was able to dare what no one before him had ever dared and that he succeeded. At a time when many would admit that the monastic life is barren, that it has

outlived its day and is out of harmony with the needs of a modern apostolate, it was the will of God that the only popular Catholic press enterprise that has ever really succeeded in France should precisely have been the work of monks."

Even before the retirement of the Assumptionists from the control of *La Croix* the Congregation had fallen a first victim to the new Law of Associations, introduced by the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry and specially directed against the religious orders (1899). All the Assumptionist houses were raided by the police, and after a trial lasting five days the Congregation was legally dissolved, a sentence confirmed later by the Court of Appeal. It meant exile for the greater number of the religious with their students and a scattered hidden life for the few who elected to remain in France. It speaks volumes for the solid constitution of the *Maison de la Bonne Presse* which, apart from *La Croix*, already published an amazing number of Catholic periodicals of every sort, and for the loyal support of its many friends, that this great business concern suffered in no way from the enforced retirement of its founders. Indeed, as regards *La Croix*, the scandal of the trial and the wide-spread indignation among Catholics served to give a great impulse to its circulation. A close friend of the Assumptionists, M. Paul Féron-Vrau, immediately came forward and took over the whole concern, appointing a lay editor, but carrying on the paper on the familiar lines and in the same staunchly Catholic spirit. Nor was he left in peace by the anti-clerical party. Some years later (1908), on some plea or other, he was dispossessed of the whole concern, the hope being that it would be compelled to close down. But once again French Catholics saved the situation. In response to M. Féron Vrau's appeal three and a half million francs were subscribed within a fortnight for the financing of a new company under the title of the *Société Jeanne d'Arc*, by which the *Bonne Presse* has continued to function precisely as before.

In speaking of *La Croix* it must not be forgotten that in France the name stands for something far more widespread than the daily *Croix* published in Paris. Even before Père Bailly retired from the scene auxiliary papers had sprung up all over the country—ten dailies, eight bi-weeklies and over eighty weeklies, all in close relations with the head-office in the rue Bayard. By degrees, and especially since the war, many of these have developed into independent sheets, though maintaining the most friendly relations with the *Bonne Presse*, so that at the present time there are seventeen weekly *Croix* which are really local editions of the Paris *Croix du Dimanche*, while seventy-one more are affiliated to the news-agency of the Paris *Croix* and all of them recognise it as the parent stem from which they are sprung. It is the existence of all these *Croix de Province* as they are called, covering between them the greater part of France, together with the innumerable cheap popular publications of the *Bonne Presse*, some of which, such as the little life of Joan of Arc, have run literally into millions, that justifies the claim of the *Bonne Presse* to be one of the biggest and most effective organisations for Catholic propaganda.

While his "oeuvre de prédilection" thus grew and prospered, Père Bailly himself was condemned to a rather sad old age, an exile from France during the first period, separated for the most part from his religious brethren and the victim in his last years of a creeping paralysis of his limbs. Yet his faith and his energy never failed, and he was sustained in all his trials by his deep and ever-increasing devotion to the Holy Eucharist. Every year until his seventy-eighth he courageously led the French pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where the great pilgrimage house of Notre Dame de France at Jerusalem was largely his creation. Further legal proceedings, by which he was condemned to three months' imprisonment, were taken against him in his absence in 1904 by the French Government, so that it was not till the amnesty granted in 1905

that he was able to take up his permanent abode once more in Paris in a little fifth floor flat. His last effort was to attend the General Chapter of his Congregation in Luxemburg. A fortnight later his death in Paris (Dec. 2, 1913) was the occasion of a wonderful outburst of affection and gratitude, and his simple hearse was followed to Mont Parnasse by an enormous crowd.

It was all this that was commemorated in the really magnificent centenary celebrations held last December in Paris, functions that included a solemn High Mass at Montmartre at which Cardinal Verdier preached, another celebrated by Cardinal Binet in the chapel of Notre Dame du Salut in the old home of the Assumptionists in the rue Francois 1er, a banquet, a reception, a foundation stone laying and so forth. Besides a host of congratulatory letters, a number of spontaneous testimonies appeared in the French press quite unconnected with *La Croix* from many prominent Catholic publicists of the day, men such as Georges Goyau, François Veuillot, Yves de la Brière in the *Etudes*, Victor de Clercq and others. Looking back over the space of years and judging impartially from results, they all testify warmly to the amazing courage and faith of Père Bailly in his conviction that a real live Catholic press could be built up in France, then to the journalistic ability with which he carried out his task, and finally to the immeasurable advantage that accrued to the Church from the development of Catholic press propaganda. In comparison with such gains the occasional lack of judgment and even the provocations and indiscretions of controversy seem of small account.

It is symptomatic of the up-to-date methods always pursued by the *Bonne Presse* on its business side, that it celebrated its jubilee by laying the foundation stone of a vast new building in ferro-concrete destined to house in future all its multiform activities on the old site at 8 rue Bayard.

V. M. Crawford

SOME IRISH LEADERS IN CANADA

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WHILST the Economic Conference was being held in Ottawa during the past summer, I happened to be in the City of Quebec, and I heard a prominent citizen remark : " The sanest and most practical delegates to the Conference are the representatives of the Irish Free State." Later, when " bouquets " were being distributed by the French-Canadian press, there was a most flattering allusion to the " cultivated and capable Irishmen who made such a favourable impression on Parliament Hill, in Ottawa."

It is significant that most of the histories of Canada (written by scions of the Empire Loyalists) are silent as to the nationality of some of the greatest men who have been identified with the political and social development of the Canadian Commonwealth ; and one must seek elsewhere to find that they were Irish. Were it not for the literary activities of a few capable descendants of expatriates, much of the story of the " Irish in Canada " would have been relegated to the shades of oblivion. Happily some of these Irish-Canadians have gathered the *disjecta membra* and made them available to students of the colonial activities of the sons of Innisfail.

It were impossible in a brief article to record the deeds of the Irish race in Canada ; we must be content with the mention of a few notable characters, and we shall begin with the story of Sir Guy Carleton (later Lord Dorchester), a native of County Tyrone. Such was the service which Carleton had rendered during the transitional period following the Treaty of Paris (1763) that he was regarded as the only person competent to retain within the British

orbit the recently-acquired section of New France. He understood the temperament of the " New Subjects," and he sensed that there would be a revolt against British authority on the banks of the St. Lawrence, unless conciliatory measures were effected that would placate the sixty thousand Catholics whom pavonine arrogance attempted to crush. A recent volume on the history of Canada says : " Carleton's genius and courage made him the saviour of Canada."[1]

Carleton was the promoter, if not the initiator, of the Quebec Act (1774), which has justly been termed " the Magna Charta of the French-Canadian race." This became " the basic law " for the region defined in the Act as the " Province of Quebec." Protestant fanatics throughout the original Thirteen Colonies denounced this Act, and furiously declaimed against " the establishment of popery in the New Province." Its foremost antagonist was the fanatical John Jay, at one time Chief Justice of the United States, Secretary of State, and other things besides. Leddy writes :—

> As a boy at school I was taught that Sir Guy Carleton was an officer who served under General Wolfe and, in recognition of his services, was made Governor of Quebec ; that during the trying years of the early British rule in New France his great tact and courage did more than anything else to save Canada to the British. I was taught that when a constitution that aimed to divide the colony into two sections on racial lines was submitted, he detected the weakness and opposed it. I was taught that, with clear insight into statesmanship which was one of his great characteristics, he adopted a policy which has stood the test of nearly two centuries, the policy of toleration, and the only policy that could have prevailed. I was told that his charm of manner and capacity for public service dissolved all difficulties. *But I was never told that he was an Irishman.* That fact, if it were not deliberately concealed, was certainly not disclosed by the school histories of my day.[2]

If we turn from the political domain to a more peaceful

[1] Witke, *History of Canada*, p. 32 (New York, 1928).
[2] *The Land We Live In*, p. 7 (Ottawa, 1931).

phase of Canadian development in early days, we find another Irishman, Colonel Thomas Talbot, a native of Dublin, who played a patriarchal part in the settlement of a wilderness. He brought a party of colonists to Western Canada, and amid indescribable privations he and his settlers carved out homes in what is now one of the most prosperous farming districts in the Province of Ontario.

While this agricultural venture was in its nascent stage there appears on Canadian soil one whose exploits have been the theme of song and story—the gallant James Fitzgibbon. But, as in the case of Sir Guy Carleton, the writers " forget " to tell us that James Fitzgibbon was a native of Ireland—the son of an Irish cotter. He entered the army at an early age, and served with the British forces against Napoleon in Holland (1799), and later before Copenhagen. He was then drafted to Canada, was given a small command in the war of 1812-14, and became one of the outstanding figures of the campaign. To him, perhaps, more than to any other soldier was due the defeat of the American forces under Boerstler at Beaver Dam—the decisive episode in the war. An eminent Irish Canadian says of James Fitzgibbon :—

> The strategy and daring which won him his victory at Beaver Dam are the dominant characteristics of this impetuous spirit and have made him the Ulysses of the Canadian army. . . . He was as simple as he was heroic ; and in him were blended that triumvirate of virtues—valour, romance and religion—which have made the Irishman invincible in every field he has entered. A most chivalrous act is recorded of this hero : promoted to a captaincy on the field of valour, he made a night ride of 150 miles through a trackless forest to visit his sweetheart, Mary Shea, and to make her his wife ere morning dawned, so that, should he die in the impending battle, she would be entitled to the pension of a captain's widow.

During the strenuous days that followed the war of 1812-14 arose a formidable group of men who began the agitation for Responsible Government in Canada ; and the

leader was Robert Baldwin, Irish by lineage if not by birth. This group protested vehemently against the arbitrary power then being exercised by entrenched Toryism embodied in the "Family Compact." This body of reactionaries "dominated the Governor, controlled the patronage and sometimes the courts, occasionally packed the Assembly with obsequious office-holders, and in many localities exercised effective economic control over banking facilities and public works." They also managed to secure the most attractive land grants at the disposal of the Government, and "generally manifested a profound distrust for all newcomers, particularly those who might have been inoculated with the virus of democracy in the United States or in Ireland."

With Baldwin was associated another brilliant Irishman—Francis Hincks, a native of Cork. Landing in Canada at the age of twenty-three, he soon became one of the most notable figures in the country. He played many parts in the Canadian political drama—as journalist, banker, economist, and parliamentarian. At a comparatively early age he was a member of the Government, and carried on in the public service until his Administration went down to defeat in 1853. Then the curtain dropped on what is called "the Irish period in Canadian history."

While Francis Hincks was battling with entrenched Toryism in Ontario, another Irishman, Dr. Daniel Tracey —"physician, editor, patriot and martyr"—was dealing deadly blows to autocracy in the Province of Quebec. Dr. Tracey was a native of Roscrea and a graduate in medicine of Trinity College, Dublin. It is not known when he came to Montreal; but it must have been in the early part of the last century. Fresh from fields where he had doubtless witnessed savage scenes and where perhaps he had suffered from arrogant Toryism, he became identified at an early date with the liberal movement which, under the leadership of Papineau, Nelson, Morin, Lafontaine, and Cartier, culminated in what is set down in Canadian history as "the Rebellion of 1837."

Gifted with great literary ability, Dr. Tracey, in addition to his medical practice, established a newspaper, *The Vindicator*, whose chief aim apparently was to demolish the Tory fortress. In February, 1832, he was summoned before the Legislative Council and was condemned to a term of imprisonment for "disrespectful utterances" in his newspaper. He spent ten days in jail at Quebec, and when he returned to Montreal he received an ovation from the citizens and, as a further evidence of their appreciation, was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly to represent the West Ward of the city. The election must have been accompanied with scenes of violence, as the inscription on Dr. Tracey's tomb in the cemetery of Côte des Neiges states that "three of his friends sealed with their blood on the eve of his election the trust reposed in his integrity."

But Dr. Tracey did not live long to enjoy the honours or labours of public life. In the early summer of 1832 Asiatic cholera broke out with great virulence in Montreal, and Dr. Tracey spent himself in ministering to the stricken citizens. There were numerous deaths, and among the victims was the self-sacrificing doctor. There is a noble monument to this heroic son of Innisfail in the cemetery of Côte des Neiges, and the inscription on it, in French and in English, is really an epitome of his life.

While Dr. Tracey was in jail at Quebec, the editorial work of *The Vindicator* was conducted by his friend and associate, Dr. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, a fellow-countryman, who had made his medical studies in Paris and who must have come to Canada about the same time as Dr. Tracey. After the latter's death, Dr. O'Callaghan carried on the work of *The Vindicator* as editor-in-chief, and became an ardent follower of Papineau, through whose influence he was elected to represent Yamaska in the Quebec Assembly. When the political storm had assumed menacing proportions, the printing-plant of *The Vindicator* was destroyed by the Government, and orders

were issued for the arrest of Papineau, Dr. O'Callaghan, and twenty-five others. Acting on the advice of friends, Papineau and Dr. O'Callaghan fled to the United States. The former returned later to Canada and again became a representative in the Assembly, while Dr. O'Callaghan decided to make his home in Albany, New York, and became an outstanding figure in the Empire State. He continued to practise his profession; but he found a means of continuing also his literary labours in the field of history. He delved into the records of Colonial New York, and it was largely through his efforts that the work of publishing them was undertaken. His works include :— *History of the New Netherlands* (1846); *Documentary History of New York* (4 vols., 1849-51); *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York* (2 vols., 1855-61).

A quarter of a century after Dr. Tracey's death there came to Montreal from the United States Thomas D'Arcy McGee, " the Prophet of Canadian Nationality." A native of Carlingford, Co. Louth, where he was born April 13, 1825, he spent his boyhood years in Wexford, and there received all the regular education he was ever to get. At the age of seventeen he emigrated to the United States and landed in Boston, where at the time he found many compatriots—among them Patrick Donahue, who gave him a position on the staff of the *Boston Pilot*. Two years later D'Arcy McGee became its editor. In the interim he had taken a leading part in defending his countrymen from the fanaticism of the " Native Americans," who did not scruple to resort even to incendiarism to debar Irish Catholics from positions of trust or responsibility in the New England States.

Whilst connected with the *Pilot* D'Arcy McGee wrote and lectured a great deal in support of the Repeal Movement in the homeland; and his utterances attracted the attention of O'Connell, who (it is said) referred publicly to " the inspired writings of a young exiled Irish boy in America." Having spent less than three years in the

United States, the " exiled boy " returned to Ireland and in 1845 became editor of the *Freeman's Journal.* This apparently was too conservative for the impetuous McGee, and he joined the staff of the *Nation,* where he found a vehicle for his literary genius and political aspirations. After O'Connell had severed relations with the Young Irelanders, McGee still remained one of the most lusty advocates of the principles to which they subscribed. While absent in Scotland advocating insurrection a price was put on his head. McGee returned to Ireland, was befriended by the Bishop of Derry, and escaped to America, landing in New York on October 10, 1848.

Within a month after he had landed, D'Arcy McGee launched the *New York Nation.* To this period of his journalistic career belong some of his best poems, as well as the most passionate outbursts against England, at whose door he justly laid the cause of his exile. But his editorials at the time were not only anti-British ; they were interpreted as being anti-clerical, and he came into conflict with Bishop Hughes, of New York, and with his clergy. McGee's influence waned, and his paper languished. He then migrated to Boston and established the *American Celt,* which for the first years of its existence was revolutionary in tone. Then came a great crisis in his life, and after an earnest spiritual struggle he " adopted a philosophy of life more in keeping with the teaching of the Church and the lessons of experience." His change of heart found expression in a " Letter to a Friend," which appeared in the columns of the *Celt,* and which, in part, is here reproduced :—

> I discovered at the outset of my enquiry my own ignorance. This I discovered in a way which, I trust in God, you will never have to travel—by controversy and bitterness and sorrow for lost time and wasted opportunities. Had we studied principles in Ireland as devoutly as we did an ideal nationality, I might not now be labouring double tides to recover a confidence which my own fault forfeited. But I will say it, for it is necessary to be said, that in Ireland the study of principles is at its lowest ebb.

Our literature has been English—that is Protestant; our politics have been French or implicit following of O'Connell; and under all this rubbish the half-forgotten Catechism was the only Christian element in our constitution. Since Burke died, politics ceased to be a social science in our island and in England. The cruel political philosophy of Adam Smith never had disciples among us; the eloquence of Shiel is not bottomed on any principle; the *ipse dixit* of O'Connell could be no substitute, to an ardent and awakened intellect, for the satisfying fullness of a Balmes or a Brownson. . . . . .

Having discovered by self-examination that the reading of modern books, English and French, gave a very superficial and false view of political science, I cheerfully said to myself: 'My friend, you are on the wrong track. You think you know something of human affairs, but you do not. You are ignorant, very ignorant, of the primary principles that govern and must govern the world. You can put sentences together, but what does that avail you when perhaps those sentences are but the husks and pods of poisonous seeds? You have a soul. What will all the fame of your talents avail you if you lose *that*? Thus I reasoned with myself, and then, setting my cherished opinions before me one by one, I tried, judged, and capitally executed every one, save and except those which I found to be compatible with the following doctrines:—

1. That there is a Christendom.
2. That this Christendom exists by and for the Catholic Church.
3. That there is, in our age, one of the most dangerous and most general conspiracies against Christendom that the world has yet seen.
4. That this conspiracy is aided, abetted, and tolerated by many because of its stolen watchword—"Liberty."
5. That it is the highest duty of "a Catholic man" to go over cheerfully, heartedly and at once to the side of Christendom—to the Catholic side—and to resist with all his might the conspirators who, under the stolen word of "Liberty," make war upon all Christian institutions.

From that date D'Arcy McGee took a stand against revolutionary methods in Ireland, "wrote, lectured, organized on behalf of the improvement of the Irish lot, and ultimately met death at the hands of an assassin because of his open denunciation of the Fenian raids against

Canada." But he did not plunge into the other extreme and become a reactionary. To his last hour on earth he defended the liberty whose characteristics were order, religion, tolerance, charity. He regained much of his earlier popularity, and Irish conservatives rallied around him and lent him support. In 1856 we find McGee at a congress of Irish-Americans in Buffalo, N.Y. Whilst there a number of representative Irish-Canadians prevailed upon him to cast in his lot with them. Early in the following year he and his family moved to Montreal. There he founded the *New Era*, in the columns of which first appeared the phrase " a new nationality," and to the realization of this ideal he devoted the remaining years of his life.

In the general election of 1858 D'Arcy McGee was elected by a Montreal constituency to a seat in the Canadian Parliament, and he sat with the Opposition until 1864—" electrifying and sometimes antagonizing the House with his irrepressible wit and satire." He crossed the floor of the House on March 10, 1864, and accepted the portfolio of Agriculture in the Taché-Macdonald Administration, which he held until the " British North America Act " (1867) federated the Canadian provinces. He was elected to the first Dominion Parliament ; but he declined office in order to make room for an Irish Catholic member for Nova Scotia—Edward Kenny, of Halifax, who became Receiver-General. McGee remained an active member and continued to thrill Parliament by his wit and eloquence. His loyalty to constituted authority was ofttimes expressed, and he deprecated every attempt to destroy harmony and goodwill. At the close of one of these eloquent pleas he left the House of Commons on the evening of April 7, 1868, and within the shadow of the House he was assassinated by a Fenian,— Patrick James Whelan. The entire Dominion was plunged in grief at the passing under such tragic circumstances of " a great citizen and brilliant parliamentarian."

When D'Arcy McGee became a citizen of Canada he entered heart and soul into its social and political life, on which he left an enduring impress. Like a true prophet, "he caught the spirit of the past and projected it into the future." With true Irish facility he identified his interests with those of his adopted country, and he left it an illustrious name which Canada has honoured by a substantial monument that adorns the Federal Capital of the Dominion. Nor is this all. His praises have been sung by Canadians from coast to coast, and tributes to his memory have emanated from quarters from which one would not expect a wreath for a son of Catholic Ireland. One such tribute concludes with these words :— "He breathed into our New Dominion the spirit of a proud self-reliance and first taught Canadians to respect themselves."

After the passing of McGee came Edward Blake, who began his political career in 1867, when he was elected to the Canadian House of Commons and to the Legislature of Ontario. Born of an immigrant father in 1833, Blake read a brilliant course at Upper Canada College and at the University of Toronto. Called to the Bar in 1856, he soon found a lucrative practice and became a recognized leader in his profession, notably in equity practice. Always a staunch liberal, Blake became leader of the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature in 1871 and Premier of the Province in 1872. When dual representation was abolished, he became the great protagonist of liberalism in the Dominion Parliament, and was identified with many notable events. He achieved much notoriety in the episode known as "the Pacific Railway Scandal." In 1873 he became a member (without portfolio) of the Cabinet of Alexander McKenzie. Later he was named Minister of Justice, and in this capacity he showed marked ability in constructive legislation; and it was largely through his efforts that the Supreme Court of Canada was created. But apparently he was unable to

see eye to eye with his colleagues in legislative matters and he was superseded in the leadership of the Liberal Party by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the " G.O.M." of Canadian politics. Finally Blake resigned from the Party and resumed his law practice.

In 1892 Blake accepted the invitation of the Nationalist Party in Ireland, and was elected for South Longford. During his tenure of a seat in the British Parliament he was an advocate of Home Rule, and his advice was of importance to his colleagues. Blake's Canadian experience enabled him to bring to the Home Rule Question much that was valuable in shaping the destinies of the Nationalist Party. Whilst a member of the British House of Commons he was a member of the Commission on South African affairs ; and his cross-examination of Cecil Rhodes was one of the outstanding events in his parliamentary career.

Edward Blake was a forceful speaker, a man of large views and strict political integrity. He wielded great influence in shaping Canadian legislation. Retiring from public life in 1907, he spent his declining years in Toronto, where he died in 1912.

Another political son of the Green Isle was Nicholas Flood Davin, a native of Kilfinane, Co. Limerick. Born in 1843, Davin was a graduate in Arts of Queen's College, Cork. Later he studied law and was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, London, in 1868. Relinquishing a promising legal career, Davin entered the field of journalism and became a reporter in the gallery of the House of Commons. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War he went to France as a war correspondent, and was seriously wounded. In 1872 Davin emigrated to Toronto, Canada, and as an editorial writer on the *Globe* he acquired great prominence in the newspaper world. In 1883 he felt the call of the great North-west, and settled at Regina, and established the *Leader*. Four years later he was elected a member of the Canadian House of Commons,

where he soon became known as " the Irish blizzard of the North-west." But Davin cultivated other fields, and as a publicist he ranks amongst the brilliant galaxy of writers whose names grace the pages of Canadian literature. He was a prolific writer; among his published works are—*The Irishman in Canada; Culture and Practical Power; Eos, an Epic of the Dawn; Ireland and the Empire.*

There is still living in the City of Ottawa a Celt by lineage who is one of the greatest parliamentarians of Canada within living memory—the Hon. Charles Murphy, whose name is a household word from one end of Canada to the other. A distinguished Canadian author says : " Charles Murphy early caught the spirit of D'Arcy McGee, and has laboured assiduously and unselfishly for the promotion of his ideals. Whether in parliament or out of it, his plea has ever been for the better understanding of each other. Possessed of unusual political insight, gifted with rare powers of speech, and honoured with many portfolios during his thirty years of public life, he has used his great talents and his high position in the fearless advocacy of popular rights." Senator Murphy is a leader of whom the Irish in Canada may well be proud. His pride in the race has often found him in the vanguard when discrimination attempted to do its ugly work, and he has ever been ready to repel an implication that it is inferior to any other. He set a high standard in private conduct and in public morals, and he who would obtain recognition at his hands must come up to that standard. He felt, when he entered public life, that nothing had done more to destroy the prestige of the Irish abroad than the practice of advancing to positions of trust men who were not qualified to fill them, or who were not representative of the Irish race. Canada was receiving the best that the other races had to offer; she should not be denied the best that the Irish had to give. In giving Charles Murphy to Canada, Ireland gave of her best.

P. W. Browne

SODALITIES IN AMERICA AND CATHOLIC ACTION

BY DANIEL A. LORD, S.J.
Editor of *The Queen's Work*

THIS is the matter-of-fact story of an organization that forgot its main purpose in a desperate and successful struggle to preserve a secondary purpose; that saw the secondary purpose fully realized; that then for a time thought itself without a purpose for existence; and finally by God's providence regained its primary purpose and a renaissance.

Just what the purpose in the mind of the young Jesuit scholastic was when he gathered his small group of students into the Sodality of Our Lady 350 years ago is not altogether clear. This he definitely knew, that the better type of young men in Jesuit colleges needed something more than the routine religion of school classroom and regular chapel exercises. This too he felt could be supplied by a deep and personal devotion to the Mother of God and men. Beyond this he surely visioned these young men developing an active Catholicity that was to display itself almost immediately in an active apostolate for the Church.

But just how clearly he foresaw the future is another question. Certainly he could not dream that the Sodality would spread as few societies have spread throughout the civilized world. He could not foresee how it would be used in immediately post-Reformation Vienna as the great social group of the day, fighting Protestantism with successful apostolate. Nor the quick response of young men who felt that through the Sodality they could share the Christlike life of religious priests, working for their own personal sanctification and for the salvation of their neighbours.

Nor could he guess how with time this Sodality would spread from the schools into the parishes, and finally after the lapse of over two hundred years be opened to the membership of women. Certainly he would have been aghast had he seen the Sodality, which for two centuries had been exclusively male, suddenly and rapidly becoming in the consciousness of thousands of Catholics a distinctly female institution. How fortunately he was spared that!

But the first rule of the Sodality was certainly of his design, and from that first rule were developed Catholics with a deep and personal love of Mary and her Divine Son, and, as an inevitable consequence of Sodality spirituality, apostolic work in school and parish that ran from study clubs and literary groups to savings banks and a reconstruction program that rebuilt the faith in Barcelona. The first rule was the fountain of mission work, charity enterprises, a fine and alert intellectual life that developed interested Catholic leaders of thought, sociological enterprizes (before the word sociology was coined), typically Catholic social life (in the broadest sense), a program as varied as the Sodality itself was adaptable.

Then came Jansenism, and with it the sudden need for the Sodality to swing toward and concentrate on a secondary purpose. For decade after decade the Sodality fought the battle of frequent Communion against an apathetic and listless Catholicity that regarded occasional Communions as quite satisfactory and repeated Communions as dangerous and little short of sacrilegious.

The Sodality will never bow its head over that fight; for, even if the intensity of the fight did succeed in obliterating for a time the wide scope of the first rule, the Sodality sent people in thousands to parish group Communions, made Sodalists remember their duty and privileges toward the Eucharistic Christ, and kept alive in thousands of schools and parishes that frequent Communion which is an essential of active Catholic life.

No one who remembers the Sodality of thirty or more years ago can forget how Sunday after Sunday it brought to the Holy Table its millions of members. For many of us that is a vivid memory of our youthful days. For most it seemed the Sodality's sole purpose.

Then came the gracious decree of Pius X making frequent Communion not something for which the Sodality kept up its brave and successful struggle, but something that the whole Church should regard us fundamental. The decree of the saintly Pope went far beyond what the Sodality had actually done. Daily Communion was of rapid growth. Priests who had counted on the Sodality to keep their people coming to the altar rail suddenly found a new force drawing them there. And many of them looked at the Sodality with a feeling that perhaps its days of usefulness were over.

Thus it was that the grand fight which the Sodality made for frequent Communion wiped from the minds of millions the whole content of the first rule, so that when frequent Communion became the general custom of the Church, the Sodality shrank in size, became in most places either a group of the piously devout, intent upon their own prayers, or a social club that carried on, more or less successfully, the social life of a certain section within the parish. It sank in prestige and influence close to a negligible zero, even though, throughout the days of its most complete eclipse, from the lips of hundreds of thousands of Sodalists rose the office of the Immaculate Conception, the glorious hymns of May, and staunch and childlike praise of the Mother of God.

It was my privilege—and at the time, I must frankly confess, an unrecognized privilege—to be assigned to the Central Office of the Sodality in the fall of 1925. To me, as to thousands of other priests in the United States, the Sodality meant just one thing: a devout and slightly pietistic gathering of people saying the office of Mary, listening to a more or less well prepared talk by a director,

paying their dues, and returning to their homes in sleepy peace. It did mean also a cluster of young people, or people not quite so young, gathering at the Communion rail for a monthly Sodality Communion. I had a vague idea that these Sodalists also did something special to honour Mary during May and perhaps October. Aside from those most hazy ideas, I was vague to the point of almost complete darkness. And, be it confessed, I rather pitied myself in my new appointment.

Then I read that first rule, reread it in the light of my new work, and realized that the Sodality was missing its point most terribly. The first rule said clearly that Sodalists were a group of exceptional Catholics banded together for their own personal sanctification under the patronage of Mary, but keenly bent on the salvation of souls and intently alive to the promotion of Catholic truth and the defence of the Church. I had been acquainted with the aspect of personal holiness. That this personal holiness should manifest itself in and be in turn stimulated by a life of intense Catholic activity was the light that broke on my horizon.

The phrase Catholic Action had not yet, as far as I knew, become current. But suddenly I found myself the national organizer of what should be, by very force of its constitution, not a cluster of the devoutly pious but a regiment of the apostolic alert. All the Sodalist needed was to be brought face to face with that first rule, have it cracked open for him, made definite, systematic, concrete, organized, and he could, of his own power and the grace of God, turn these more or less apathetic Sodalities into most interesting and militant companies of apostles.

With the first rule in my hands, a deep faith in Catholic young people in my heart (a faith, let me say, that has been gloriously realized), and a growing conviction that the Sodality was the precise answer to the needs of American Catholic schools and parishes, I spent one year

travelling about the country. My retreats in colleges and high schools brought me into close contact with faculties and students. I took parish missions, even in tiny country places, gave tridua in cathedrals and small parish churches, just to see if my belief in the Sodality's possibilities seemed to be borne out by the facts.

Everywhere I found within the schools a growing feeling that religious teaching was too theoretical. The students sat patiently in class, often came to regard religion as just another classroom subject, and showed, in consequence, a rather appalling apathy toward activity along Catholic lines. They were magnificently good and blessed with sincere and intelligent faith. They needed an immediate outlet for their religious theory and faith.

In parishes I found a widespread conviction that the Sodality was dead. If I were of the easily discouraged type, my reception in the parishes would have convinced me of the complete futility of my work. Handfuls of young ladies—and that adjective "young" was a portmanteau word that contained every age from fourteen to sixty-four—held sweetly devotional meetings, collected money for the parish, went to monthly Communion, and did almost nothing else. There were places like Washington and Baltimore where Unions had been organized by Father Edward F. Garesche, S.J., and fine social programs were being conducted. In general, however, the priests did not believe in the Sodality and were quite willing to see it pass from the scene. In fact it had passed from the scene in discouraging proportions.

At the end of the summer, a number of Jesuit Sodality directors were good enough to come to Chicago at my request and sit around a table for three days and talk Sodality. They talked possibilities and ideals and hopes, and left me crammed with ideas and the realization that the Sodality could be made all I hoped it would be.

The year that followed was a year of careful planning, theorizing and experimentation. A few schools and a

few less parishes were willing to be subjects for our trial and error processes. We drew up tentatively the outlines which afterwards became "The A.B.C. of Sodality Organization," of which over a hundred thousand copies have since been distributed to leaders. We sat in long and concentrated discussions with anyone who was willing to advise us. We planned to reconstruct *The Queen's Work* from a magazine of general interest at $3 a year into a newspaper of exclusively Sodality interest at fifty cents a year (twenty-five cents became the ultimate price when Sodalities took twenty copies). We worked out our "give-away" literature. We set ourselves for a campaign that was to be developed in successive stages.

First we meant to go to the Catholic Universities, Colleges, and High Schools. In these there were about 750 affiliated Sodalities in our files, but they were in every state of life, death, and somnolence. We knew that there were another thousand schools that at least were potential centres of Sodality activity. To these we first looked for our field.

Then we meant to turn to the parishes, but only after we had proved to ourselves, through the schools, the Sodality's first rule contained what we were sure it actually did contain. Some 5,000 of these were listed as possessing affiliated Sodalities.

Next we meant to turn to the Schools of Nursing, of which there are about close to 350 in America, many with affiliated Sodalities.

Our first interest in the parish was to be the ladies' Sodalities, simply because we knew these existed. Our final objective was what men's parish Sodalities had not fallen into complete decay.

So in the fall of 1927 our active campaign began. We had tried during the year of our planning to create an interest by mail. Letters sent to about 6,000 affiliated Sodalities of all types brought the astonishing number of about 35 replies. (Later, when we began our work

directly in the parishes, we sent about 12,000 separate pieces of mail in one campaign—and received by actual count 32 answers. Maybe that meant what it seemed to mean. We shut our eyes and pretended it did not).

With the realization that mail was futile and that nothing but personal contact would bring results, I began in the fall of 1927 a series of flying trips to the Catholic colleges and high schools of America's vast middle west. The technique was simply this: after permission from the individual bishop, we sent from the Central Office invitations to all the schools in a certain district to meet at an assigned place. This was usually the local boys' college. Saturday and Sunday, the students' holidays, were chosen. This was deliberate choice. We determined from the start that if these young people were not willing to make the necessary sacrifice of holidays, they were not worth bothering about. Then I arrived three to five days before the meeting and gave, in each school that received me (and all but a trifling fraction did), a talk that was designed merely to stimulate curiosity.

In substance that talk said: "No one can make you religious leaders, no one can make you intellectual Catholics unless you yourselves are willing and interested. Religion cannot be forced upon you. You must respond to it. You have your laboratories for physics; you create your language themes to train yourself in your English or French or Latin. But where is your laboratory for religion class? All right; I'm inviting you to a meeting on Saturday and Sunday. Come if you are the sort of young people I think you are. Stay, if I interest you. You may leave, if I fail to. But I think we can give you a way of making religion vital, of interesting yourself in a program of religious activity. And I think I can show you that the Sodality is the ideal organization for which your school has been waiting."

That was all. But they came. Our meetings began only with the leaders. After a short experience, I opened

it to all who cared to come. A thousand, fifteen hundred students would gather on Saturday morning and stay throughout those two days, while we worked them as hard as was possible.

We showed them that the Sodality was not merely a pious organization but a group of religious leaders who talked, planned, wrote, publicized, and acted religion to the full. We turned their often inert group of student officers into what was the only new name used in the whole enterprise, The Students' Spiritual Council, and made them responsible for the religious leadership of their school—with, of course, an active and interested faculty moderator. We suggested anywhere from four to ten committees, depending on the size of the school: Eucharistic, Our Lady's, Catholic Literature, Apostolic, Publicity, Social Life, Membership, etc. We outlined programs that would make their meetings interesting and that would permit them to take active part in those meetings. We ended with a rapid fire review of what had been done and with a direct appeal: "Will you try it?" The answer was an enthusiastic "Yes."

During the course of that year over 350 schools were visited, and we held meetings in the main cities of the Middle West. So, risking our newly developed plans on one big stake, we determined on our first Students' Convention. We had thus far been doing all the talking to them. We determined this time that we would see whether they could do the talking themselves. So invitations, posters, announcements were sent broadcast. We stressed the fact that even if no Sodality existed in the school, the students and faculty were welcome. And we named St. Louis University as our place of meeting.

Never will any of us who worked with that first Students' Spiritual Leadership Convention forget the thrill of these days. 1,400 faculty and student delegates gathered. For three days they talked as I had never heard young people talk of God and Mary and loyalty

to Christ, of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, of what precisely students could do for the spread of the truth and the defence of the faith. Before the end of the first day, whatever doubts may have remained in the minds of us at the Central Office had disappeared. Catholic youth could use the Sodality and would respond to its first rule. And it did.

On the second year of this intensive program I struck out for new fields, reaching the far West, some sections of the East, and large parts of the South. Father Gerard B. Donnelly, S.J., returned over the route I had taken the preceding year and held local conventions along the line of the national convention, with the students leading the discussions and presenting the resolutions and plans. At the end of this year we held a convention for men's schools only, to which close to one hundred men's colleges and high schools sent delegates. We felt that the young man needed special treatment and care. This was our first move in this direction.

We were now ready to begin to look toward the parish. In the meantime the phrase " Catholic Action " began to be used with increasing frequency in the Church. America, remote from Europe, was rolling the phrase tentatively on its tongue. We felt that the Sodality had the precise means of offering Catholic Action, but not to national groups. (There were, perhaps, enough national groups and societies; some said there were too many). We knew that the Sodality was immediately under the bishop and directly and by force of its constitution destined to serve the parish. Ours was to be a campaign of parish Catholic Action. So while the program of the past two years went forward in the schools, new groups forming, old groups being revisited, we struck out toward the parish, planning a first National Parish Convention for the summer of 1930. It was to this convention that we sent out the 12,000 invitations with the ghastly 32 replies.

Yet when we did meet in Chicago for that first convention, 450 delegates appeared as if from nowhere, a brave and splendid 450 on whom from that moment was built the parish Sodality development in the country. We broke open that precious first rule once more. Never will any of us quite forget the moment when a splendid Jesuit Sodality Director rose and said in all earnestness and seriousness: "We all know that the sole purpose of the Sodality is the care of the members' own souls. Hence spiritual meetings, prayer, instruction, and Communion are all the Sodality needs. It is beside the point to try to introduce the activities suggested here at this Convention."

What a chance that was to lay the first rule before the Convention and point out how, far from being the sole purpose, personal holiness was but half the objective, and how from personal holiness must, according to Sodality rule, be developed an apostolic spirit in the parish that showed itself in help of the pastor, charity work, parish visiting, care of bookracks, parent-teachers' associations, study groups, and the dominance of correct social life.

It is hard to estimate the results of that Convention. Chief among the results, however, was the addition to the staff of the Central Office of Miss Dorothy J. Willmann. This young lady, who had been active in the organization of the American Catholic Medical Mission Board, from that moment devoted herself exclusively to contact with parish Sodalities, supplying prefects with literature, programs, plans, projects; handling the growing correspondence; visiting and talking directly with the young ladies; and building up the Parish Department to a point where it now demands the assistance of three secretaries to help her with her work.

The following year was devoted to the parish with great intensity. The schools had been largely reached. Many of them were now joined in local Student Spiritual Unions which, by cooperation and unified action, were carrying out their Catholic Action program with splendid

self-direction and effect. Student local conventions had become a regular thing. There were weak schools and weak sections, but on the whole we felt that the Sodality in the school had begun its career of Catholic activity, and it was to the parish we devoted our efforts.

That the Sodality must be "the right hand of the parish" and "the priest's most willing and effective helper" was the general principle upon which we acted. We felt that first of all it must maintain a flexible character. Rigidly directed and strictly limited organizations had their place. The Sodality was to be at the disposal of the pastor for the purposes he felt his parish most needed. Thus one priest felt that parish visiting was the immediate need of his parish. Another developed an effective Catholic Evidence Guild. Another turned over to the Sodality his disorganized parish social life. A fourth used it as an auxiliary to the Propagation of the Faith. Sodalities soon were supplying the children of the parish with milk, running delightful parish club rooms, teaching the missal to young people, making clothes for the poor, serving in the sacristy, promoting parish Eucharistic devotions, acting as effective auxiliaries to the St. Vincent de Paul Society, supporting young men studying for the priesthood, serving the parish in whatever fashion was then and there needed and was asked by the pastor of this most flexible organization.

To bring the Sodality to the parish, a series of meetings exactly similar to those already conducted for the schools were held in various parts of the country. Those who still doubted the Sodality's place in parish life felt differently when they saw a thousand, three thousand, and in one case actually ten thousand young ladies assembling for these meetings in which they were taught how to turn their Sodalities into Catholic Action organizations devoted to the parish. Unions of these parish Sodalities sprang up throughout the country, in many cases the direct creations of the Sodalists themselves,

who approached their bishop, interviewed the pastors, secured the necessary permissions, held organization meetings, and put through the project with splendid initiative. These Unions had for their primary purpose regular meetings at which the Sodalists could learn from one another how to make their Sodalities more effective organizations, with a higher type of personal sanctity and a finer kind of parish service.

At the end of that year the Students met again in a National Convention, and this time 2,800 gathered in Chicago for three thrilling days. Following this, the Parish Sodalists met, and 600 of them (the results of one year's intensive work) laid plans that matured during the years that followed.

Shifts in the personnel of the Central Office brought Father J. Roger Lyons, S.J., to the staff, and into his hands was entrusted the organization of Sodalities in Schools of Nursing. Nursing Schools in the United States take rank with junior colleges. Many of them had Sodalities. More did not. The Catholic Hospital Association called upon the Sodality to help to organize the religious life of these Catholic nurses. The Sodality began the publication of *The Student Nurse*, developed a program exclusively for Catholic nurses in training, and within two years had organized Catholic Action Sodalities within 150 schools and had reached by correspondence another hundred.

From this point, the story of the Sodality in the United States is one of solidification and careful advance. Over 2,000 parishes have been in direct contact with the Central Office, accepting the Catholic Action program for their Sodalities. The school Sodalities are now carefully distinguished between college and high school groups, and last summer a separate national convention brought together each group. Within the past year, Father George McDonald, S.J., has been placed in charge of organizing the men's Sodalities whether in college,

high school, or parish, and has been developing programs and activities of special appeal to men. The circulation of *The Queen's Work*, which in the spring of 1928 was 6,500, has risen to over 70,000. A quarter of a million pieces of Sodality literature are distributed gratis every year.

And during the past year, since the work had grown beyond the possibility of regular personal visits from the Central Office, a free Monthly Sodality Service was developed. This is a large envelope, mailed monthly to 4,500 Sodalities, containing complete plans for the month : programs for meetings, outlines for study clubs, a regular aid to mental prayer, liturgical material, suggested outlines for posters and editorials and stories that can be reprinted in Sodality or school and parish papers or bulletins. In a number of places Sodality newssheets are being published by Sodalists. Amateur Writers' Guilds were late this year organized among Sodalists to train Catholic writers and to find for them outlet and publication mediums for their writing. Sodality secretaries, Jesuit priests devoted either entirely or largely to the program of organization and inspiration in their districts, now exist in eight different sections of the United States.

Yet we of the Central Office feel that the work is just begun. The astonishing flexibility of the Sodality is such that it fits an increasing variety of needs and slips unobtrusively but effectively into the widest variety of situations. Catholic young people from the Sodalities in the schools are now passing effectively into the Sodalities in the parishes. A surprising number of leaders have appeared within the parishes and local unions doing most effective and inspiring work. And the horizon stretches and stretches.

Throughout, however, we of the Central Office have tried to insist that the growth and stability of the Sodality are entirely dependent upon the spiritual life of the members. Hence more and more emphatically is devotion and loyalty to Christ stressed. For this, Eucharistic devotion, intelligent assistance at Mass, a regular yearly

retreat, prayer, especially mental prayer, are stressed. Mary must always be not merely the Mother of the Sodalists but their inspiration and model. The Sodality will never rise above two things: the interest and leadership of the directors and the personal holiness of the members. And we do not hesitate to use the word "holiness" consistently and insistently.

Because we so firmly believed in this, for two years the Central Office has been conducting Summer Schools of Catholic Action. These have been intensive sessions, lasting two weeks, that combined the feature of a constructive retreat with the practical application of that retreat to Sodality Catholic Action. 900 priests, brothers, sisters, and lay people attended these first two Summer Schools. This summer, the Summer School of Catholic Action is being carried to three widely divided sections of the country to bring its influence within reach of more people.

We feel that this solid grounding is essential, if the Sodality is to be more than an effervescence of enthusiasm and a passing demonstration of spiritual fervour. The movement must be established on a sound spirituality and a deep intellectual conviction of the value and immediate importance of Catholic Action.

May I say that after these years of experience, with the inevitable failures as well as the happy responses, I grow more and more convinced that the Sodality of Our Lady properly understood is precisely what is needed in Catholic schools and parishes? There is no reason why Catholic Action should remain a vague and indefinite thing, much praised but little practised, if it is entrusted to the hands of well trained Sodalists in well organized Sodalities. Only a Sodality that missed the purport of its first rule is dull and uninteresting and apathetic. A Sodality with correct objective and correct organization is the modern Catholic Action society for the school and parish of to-day and to-morrow.

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RICHARD WAGNER

Fiftieth Anniversary of his Death

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

WILLIAM RICHARD WAGNER, better known as Richard Wagner, is an artist around whose person, life and work the most violent storms of controversy raged in his lifetime (1813-1883) and still continue to rumble in this, the fiftieth anniversary year of his death. The literature that has grown up around him is only comparable to that which has accumulated around Goethe, who predeceased him by fifty years. Frenchmen from Baudelaire and Théophile Gautier in the sixties of the last century to Ghéon in the twentieth century have attested to (or protested against) the greatness of this Germanic genius; a philosopher like Nietzsche accepted him with passion and, with equal passion, rejected him; while a king, Louis II of Bavaria, and an emperor, Napoleon III of France, intervened personally in his destiny. The facts of his romantic and adventurous life have been canvassed by friends and enemies alike, and in such circumstances fact constantly tends to become fiction. This is clearly proved in Wagner's case by a book which Ernest Newman, one of the severest critics of Wagner (the man) had published in 1931: *Fact and Fiction about Richard Wagner*. In it Newman, working on evidence which is still constantly coming to light, effectually disposes not only of many of the legends and falsehoods circulated about the artist and his intimate circle, but also of the fallacious theory of Wagner's long continued failure to impress the public with his art. Three years ago, in a foreword to the English edition of Du Moulin Eckart's *Life of Cosima Wagner*, Newman

admitted that he had occasion, in the light of recently published documents, to revise his opinion concerning Wagner. He was, no doubt, referring to his book *Wagner as Man and Artist* which appeared in two editions in 1914 and 1925, and in which he had borne hardly not only on Wagner himself in the artist's amazing personal relations with others, but also on Cosima his second wife and on " Wahnfried " in general. Mr. Newman's revised opinion is reflected in a book which has just come out,[1] the first of three volumes of his Wagner biography, a work which supplies a very actual want and which will surely prove definitive in character, though the biographer himself is not quite convinced on this point. Documented with the utmost care, it is the first instalment of a lucid and finely written history, not only of a most amazing man and an equally amazing musical genius, but also of the musical, economic and social background of his time.

It is with such stout aids, no less than with the help of Wagner's writings—in particular his autobiographic sketch of the year 1843, his " Communication to my Friends " of 1851 and his famous autobiography dictated to Cosima in the 70's, but not published till 1911—that I venture to conjure up the vision of the " Monster of Bayreuth." William Richard Wagner was the child of a country, an age and a civilisation very different from that which produced Mozart or even Beethoven. These two were, it is true, separated by more than a generation from one another, and their family circumstances were somewhat different. But both Mozart and Beethoven were the children of musicians, trained as executive artists from their earliest years—virtuosi. The natural outlet of their talents and genius was the service of princes in an aristocratic and art-loving age. They were both believing and practising Catholics, in spite of the fact that Mozart belonged, in his Vienna period, to a Freemason lodge. Though Beethoven was Middle North West in his

[1] *Life of Richard Wagner*, Vol. 1 (Cassell, 1933, 25s.).

origin, the greater portion of his life was spent in Mozart's country, Austria—a land with a definitely characteristic culture, strongly marked off from that of Germany proper. Richard Wagner was born on the 22 May 1813 in Leipzig. Until Nietzsche in 1888 in his essay " The Case of Wagner " threw out the suggestion that he was the son of Ludwig Geyer who had married Wagner's mother in 1814, there had never been any doubt raised that William R. Wagner was the youngest of the nine children of Carl Friedrich Wagner, a police actuary and, significantly enough, the descendant of a long line of Lutheran country school and choirmasters. His birth year is ominous—the birth year of a new German nationality; for the battle of Leipzig fought in October 1813 was a people's fight against Napoleon. Saxony was always stubborn soil; ancient Pagan territory; the land of Luther and of Lessing. Leipzig was so near the scene of the carnage that, six months after Wagner's birth, his father died of a plague brought about by the corpses of the unburied dead.

Wagner's stepfather, whom his mother married in 1814 and who lived only six years after the marriage, was an actor and a painter whose remote ancestors may have been Jewish; Wagner's sisters and one brother were stage-singers. His upbringing was not strict, nor had he the advantage of a great, unbroken religious culture and of regular, religious ceremonial observances. He was, in many respects, self-educated, though he went to famous schools and later, for a brief period, to the University—but as " music student," for he had attended school so irregularly that he could not pass on to the University in the ordinary way. He had intellectual and literary interests, though he admitted to Cosima that he had no feeling for Goethe at that period. He early translated portions of Homer into verse, worshipped Aeschylus and was an enthusiastic Shakespearian. Unlike Mozart and Beethoven, he had little executive musical ability; a friend of his in his 1841 Paris period told of him that his

piano-playing was "harum-scarum." Nevertheless, when his stepfather, in 1821, heard him playing airs from Weber's "Der Freischütz" he wondered "whether he was not going to turn out a musician." He was a Romantic; Baudelaire's interesting account of him in 1861 is among a series of papers with the general title "L'Art romantique." How could a Wagner have been otherwise in the Germany of the twenties? The Germanic Weber and the equally Germanic but more fantastic and eerie Hofmann of the "Tales" thrilled and enthralled him; and, though he loved Mozart, it was Beethoven that made him conscious of what he wanted. After Beethoven's death in 1827, he experienced the performance of the 9th Symphony in the Gewandhaus, fell into a fever from excitement and, when he recovered, determined on his career. All his life, Beethoven is his lode-star and the 9th Symphony the subject of his unceasing study.

At this time Wagner was only fifteen and *supposed* to be still attending school. Unknown to his family, he was taking lessons in harmony and borrowing (without being able to pay!) books on theory from the Wieck lending library. All the time he was secretly trying his hand at composition, until in the end his family had to make arrangements for him to receive some instruction from Müller and from Weinlig, who was then regarded as the greatest of living contrapuntists. From him Wagner learned in six months all he had to teach him. He had already copied out the complete score of the Ninth Symphony and made an arrangement of it for piano solo which he offered to the Schott publishing firm, who however did not publish it, but sent in exchange a full score of Beethoven's Mass in D, to the great delight of the young enthusiast. His "dilettante" days were now over, if indeed they had ever existed, and he worked assiduously at compositions, overtures, sonatas, symphonies, which were produced with varying fortune at Prague and Leipzig, but which, in the words of one of his many

biographers, "sinned rather from want of originality than from any extravagance or eccentricity." It is the usual story of the beginnings of genius, accommodating itself to the taste and the means of the time until the mysterious moment arrives. "Ripeness is all."

This adolescent period of Wagner's life—1813-33—has been most thoroughly exposed to the light of day, and much has been made of his loose living, his boldness in borrowing money and his want of scrupulousness in repaying, as well as his belief in himself and his tendency to domineer and to get his own way. In regard to the first set of accusations, we must remember that the dreary thirties in Germany were also the years of emancipation, in which emancipation of the flesh played at least as large a part as emancipation of the spirit. We also need to be reminded that Wagner's mother was twice widowed before he reached the age of eight; that she had little, if any, visible means of support for her numerous family; that a home in the strict sense of the word hardly existed, Wagner being constantly pushed from place to place in those tender and impressionable years, tolerated among relatives or miserably boarded out among strangers. Impecuniousness was the normal condition and borrowing was practically the only way out of a desperate situation. It was a disease which became chronic with Wagner.

In regard to the second set of accusations, it is a good thing for lovers of music and the world of art in general that young Richard was provided by nature with such a belief in himself and such a will to carry through nature's purpose in him. He required in later years all the toughness and thickskinnedness which he was now developing, in order to bring to fruition under well-nigh impossible conditions the ideas that were germinating in him. And his worst enemies could not say of him that he was a "slacker"—on the contrary, his power of work was daemonic, his energy inexhaustible, his attention to the smallest detail amazing. If one element of genius is

"the capacity for taking pains," then Richard Wagner was, in youth as in age, one of the world's geniuses.

In 1833, when Wagner is twenty, it becomes imperative on him to be self-supporting, and he is launched in Würzburg under the auspices of his older brother, Albert, who is theatre manager and singer there. It is a temporary engagement, his duties being to rehearse the chorus and solos. He gets *one pound per month* for the work (!), into which he puts all his energy, all his determination, and a steadily growing talent for organization. This post is followed by one as director of orchestra with a company in Magdeburg. It sounds ambitious; but the conditions as revealed by Mr. Newman are sordid and revolting, and Wagner would have retired in disgust, were it not that he was held by his love for "Minna"—Christine Wilhelmine Planer, an actress in the company, whom he married in 1836. The marriage was on the whole (though not uniformly) unhappy; the pair separated at intervals until 1858, when the separation became of a more permanent character, broken only by the brief stay in Paris in 1860-61, after which Minna, financed in some fashion or other by Wagner, lived in Dresden till her death in 1866.

In Magdeburg, as well as in the similar posts which he held in Königsberg and Riga, Wagner becomes the man who is afterwards to revolutionize the profession of conductor. Mr. Newman draws attention to the number and variety of the operas which he conducted at this period and to his "aplomb." He was absolutely sure of himself, and his assurance was based on profound and careful study of the scores and on the insight of a man of genius into the intentions of the composers. He was later to alienate and antagonise most German conductors; but even the most irritated and hostile of them had to admit his efficiency in a department which, strictly speaking, was not his but theirs. His conducting work in those years 1834-1839, no less than that of the Dresden

period 1842-1849, is but the practical illustration of the theory and problems which he afterwards, in 1869-1870, deals with in an essay of over seventy pages " On Conducting." I cannot help thinking, here as elsewhere in Wagner, that there is a strong resemblance in intellectual character between him and his countryman, Lessing. Both had an enormous industry and an insatiable intellectual curiosity. Both were fighters, unsparing in their attacks upon what they believed to be spurious and false. Both were German to the marrow, anxious above all things to shake off a foreign intellectual yoke. Both had an abiding interest in drama, as it was known to and practised by the Greeks; both strove in the interests of a national drama and a national theatre; both united to an extraordinary degree, and more or less reconciled, theory and practice in the pursuit of their art.

To this period of executive and organising work belong also the early operas of Wagner: *Die Hochzeit, Die Feen, Das Liebesverbot,* only the last of which was performed and was a failure. They are a proof that he had at this time temporarily abandoned his German Romantic views and had gone over to the lighter Italian and French manner, the skilled imitation of which Mr. Newman praises. Such a foreign and frivolous conception of the art to which he has devoted himself is probably partly the outcome of his wretched experiences with the provincial theatres in those six years, partly the working out of the " emancipation " virus with which all students of literature in the thirties are well acquainted. He is now convinced that he can effect nothing in Germany. He is crippled with debt and beset by angry creditors, a circumstance which is partly responsible for the loss of his Riga post. So he turns to France. To Scribe the librettist and Meyerbeer the operatic composer (whom he afterwards so bitterly attacked as a Jew who should be anathema to the German nation) he had already made overtures in order to have his works produced at the Opéra. He is

planning "Rienzi," to finish and produce which he now, in 1839, goes to Paris.

The Paris years—1839-1842—with "Rienzi" and "The Flying Dutchman" are usually reckoned his "First Period." They mark a crisis—the development of what we have now come to know as Wagnerian music drama. But Paris itself is a disappointment from the first, and it becomes in the end a nightmare. This man, who must have felt the fires of genius burning within him, is reduced to the acceptance of the most painful hackwork; he barely exists, with Minna and his dog, in a wretched garret—he is even imprisoned for debt. He now produces two tales, Hoffmannesque but all too real: "The End of a Musician in Paris" (1841) with its dying testament of the starving composer: "I believe in God, Mozart and Beethoven"; and "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven" (1840), where he says: "If I wrote an opera according to my ideas, the people would run away from it; *for there would be none of the arias, duets, terzets and all such stuff in it with which nowadays operas are pieced together*, and what I would write, no singer would sing and no public would be found to listen to. The man who would write *a true musical drama* would be a fool, if he were to put it before such people instead of keeping it to himself." Such a fool Wagner was very soon to become. In Meudon, whither he went to escape a second imprisonment for debt, he composed "The Flying Dutchman," with which Wagnerian drama begins, and he conceived the idea of "Tannhäuser." Romanticism had returned. In April 1842 a thoroughly *German* Wagner went back to his fatherland, greeting the Rhine with tears of joy and gratitude. He is going to see "Rienzi" and "The Flying Dutchman" produced in the Court Opera House at Dresden, where in 1843 he is offered the post of First Director.

The three years in Paris had laid the foundations of a dislike of French operatic music; of its showiness, its lack of seriousness and devotion, its sacrifice of funda-

mentals to externals, of " vocation " to pecuniary rewards. This mood was soon to develop into a consciousness of a German art mission—*his* mission—into an enhanced feeling of the value of his own personality, into a view of art as a cult in the real sense of that word. A clear proof that Wagner was now fully conscious of his own value is furnished by the fact that, penniless as he was, he makes *his own terms* with the Dresden Court Opera Intendant von Lüttichau, insists on the First Directorship or *nothing, and gets it.* In Paris, too, occurs the great dividing line between the Wagner of opera (" Rienzi ") and the Wagner of musical drama (" The Flying Dutchman "). The difference between the two works is always regarded as fundamental, though the latter is only the first and feeblest of the strides which Wagner will take through time towards an eternity of fame. The " Flying Dutchman " is the attempt to realize a *dramatic idea through the combined forces of poetry and music, vocal and orchestral—both forces being united in a marriage which implies equal rights and equal dignity.* It is significant for Wagner's later development that the genesis of the story is a " folk " ballad or tale; that the idea is salvation through the devotion and renunciation of a woman, and that the end is death—if not yet the Schopenhauerian negation of the will to live. Henceforward Wagner tends more and more to reject historical themes and to believe that he can get closer to humanity through myth, as in his great central work " The Ring," or through " folk " romances, as in " Tannhäuser," " Lohengrin," " Tristan " and " Parsifal."

Wagner is now a poet and no longer merely his own maker of texts. The subject matter is first attacked—sometimes outlined in prose and then turned into verse—whereupon the musical composition follows, at longer or shorter intervals, according to what Mr. Newman calls the " animal instinct " of the artist. The text, in which the words are chosen for their ideal and tonal value, is

that of a musician who is conscious that the words can be marvellously reinforced by a music (the technical capabilities of which he has completely mastered) and who therefore, secure in his ability to drain the last drop of emotional power out of instruments and voice, leaves the idea to be expressed by the " poem." This consciousness does not imply any carelessness in the text; on the contrary. Wagner always insists (an insistence that should have been unnecessary, were it not that he has been so ludicrously misunderstood and so unscrupulously calumniated) that he did not act in accordance with any preconceived system in the evolution of his music dramas, but in obedience to the inner law of his artist's being, a law of mood imperatively calling for its form of expression in accordance with the nature of his genius and the character of his mood. It is in precisely the same way that all his subsequent creations are evoked, and whether the artist's work upon them extends over a brief period, as is the case with " Tannhäuser " and " Lohengrin," or over a longer period, as in the case of " The Ring," the " Meistersingers," " Tristan " and " Parsifal," whose composition extended over several years, the final result is the same—a fusion of thought and emotion, a masterpiece of unity in complexity.

Wagner's second or Dresden period, 1843-1849, brief but pregnant with great things—" Tannhäuser " (1845) and " Lohengrin " (1847)—is cut short by the revolutionary disturbances of 1848-1849, in which this extraordinary music director and composer is involved, because he *will* make speeches and he *will* have suspicious friends like the Russian Bakunin, whom Mr. Bernard Shaw holds responsible for certain elements of " The Ring." Not that he is sentenced; his friends advise him not to await arrest and trial, but to flee. He accepts the counsel and becomes an exile from Germany for eleven years. But before he went into exile, he had gained a lifelong friend: Liszt, the producer in Weimar of " Tannhäuser " and

" Lohengrin "—a fellow musician and virtuoso, whose relations with Wagner have been compared to those of Schiller with Goethe. Liszt's second daughter, Cosima, whose mother was the famous Countess d'Agoult, the friend of George Sand, was to become the indispensable companion of Wagner, the mother of his daughters Isolde and Eva and of his son Siegfried and, in 1870, his wife. In all the storms that shook Wagner, amid all the friendships made and unmade—even in the crisis of Cosima's leaving her husband and formally renouncing her faith in order to comply with the formalities of divorce and remarriage—Liszt never allows himself to be alienated.

His Third Period (1849-1862), the great years of the composition of the poem and part of the music of " The Ring " (1849-1857), of " Tristan and Isolde " (1857-1859), and of the poem and part of the music of the " Meistersingers " (1861-62), is spent in exile. An Odyssey of wandering—Switzerland, Paris, London, Italy, Austria, Russia—no money, fantastic debts, fantastic personal and domestic luxuries, borrowings without hope of repayment, unceasing efforts to get his works performed (*but always provided they are performed as he wants them, without cuts and according to his own notes and explanations*), domestic scenes and separations, friendships platonic, economic and some less reputable. The devotion that he demands and gets from the great Liszt, from Saxon friends like Uhlig, from Hans von Bülow the unfortunate husband of Cosima Liszt, from Peter Cornelius in Vienna, and from Minna and many other women has been the subject of many a tale. Wagner never doubted that it was the royal right of genius to command and the sweet privilege of the other party to obey. With human nature what it is, it is amazing how often he won through. In spite of all his anxieties and financial worries, of the feeling of frustration produced in him by his inability to superintend any of the productions of his work in Germany—for he is liable to immediate arrest if he returns—he has a

constant sense of elation, amounting almost to exaltation, that he is free to create, that he is no longer a "Royal Saxon Kapellmeister." The time when he is not on his tours he spends in Zürich, where in 1857 Wesendonck, a rich Dutch merchant, provides him with a chälet in the grounds of his own splendid home. He occasionally conducts performances of his own and other works in Zürich; but he refuses absolutely to be bound by any appointment, though he continually endeavours to get himself financed by private individuals or by publishers—on whom he urges the principle of gambling in futures. He keeps in touch with other German political exiles such as Herwegh, the poet; he reads the philosophy of Feuerbach and, later, that of Schopenhauer, who reinforces his own intuition and helps him to formulate the "content" of "Tristan" and of "Siegfried."

It must be noted, too, that he is now, in the intervals of creation, preparing a series of theoretical works—"Art and Revolution," "The Art Work of the Future," "Opera and Drama"—to convince the public that the art of the present day was unreal and that the time was ripe for the equal co-operation of music and poetry in the service of drama, which *he and he alone* could give. The central idea of "Opera and Drama," which is written in close conjunction with his labours on "The Ring" and is of pivotal importance for Wagner's theory, is that a fundamental error had been committed in opera. This error consisted in making music, "*which is only a means of expression, an end, while the real end, which is drama, has been degraded to the position of a means.*" When one realises that such a treatise involved an attack upon the existing fabric of the musical world and that powerful living composers like Berlioz and Meyerbeer were involved, while Wagner was an ex-director of the Dresden Opera House, a political revolutionary and a fugitive from justice, with Liszt as sole supporter in the musical world, one can imagine the fury of reprisals that this attack called down

upon him. Years after the appearance of these treatises, Wagner explained to a friend the consistent defamation of his work and character as due largely to the machinations of the Jews, by whom Press and Theatre were controlled to some extent, and whom the composer had bitterly offended by his pamphlet "Judaism in Music."

That Wagner regarded "The Ring," fashioned out of German-Norse saga, as the great achievement of his life there is no doubt. That it cast a powerful spell over such disciples of his as the King, Nietzsche, Liszt and, later, over men like Bernard Shaw, is a matter of history. That it has been interpreted in the light of historical—philosophical—ethical—political ideas: the greed of gold and the lust of power, the duty of obedience, the punishment of falsehood even to the destruction of the gods themselves, the triumph of faith and love over death—is known to most students of Wagner literature. That it is a veritable triumph of Wagner music in thematic construction and in the musical interpretation of the idea through the subtle interweaving in all four parts of the "leading motives," musical critics are never tired of pointing out. The "leit-motif" or leading motive has been variously derived from Bach, Gluck and Schumann; but the use of it, as we understand it now, is Wagner's and his alone. It is a use which, begun in the "Flying Dutchman," he goes on enriching and developing through "Tannhäuser" and "Lohengrin" to the unique "Tristan and Isolde," until in "The Ring" he is able to make it into the very warp and woof of unhuman, human and superhuman emotion and aspiration. That the Bayreuth festival playhouse was built for it there is no manner of doubt. The idea of such a theatre goes back to the early years of his exile. In one of his letters to Dresden at that time, he throws out a suggestion to raise by subscription a sum of money, build of wood a theatre, and perform "The Ring" in it. After having given the German people a taste of what such a

work could be, he would then burn the score, destroy the temporary building, and invite the public—if they *wanted* such an art work in the future—to build a proper house for it!

The next or Fourth Period of Wagner's life, 1862-1883, is the period of the finished "Ring" and of "Parsifal." It reads in part like a fairy tale. When Wagner, who had hoped to set up a home in Biebrich and had tried establishments of much too luxurious a character in Vienna and in Paris, was more than usually overwhelmed with debt and was wandering through Germany in despair, he was overtaken (3 May 1864) by the courier of King Ludwig of Bavaria, whose first act on ascending the throne was to find and summon Wagner to his capital. This art-loving, beautiful and ill-fated monarch had long fed his sensitive mind on the poetical and musical creations in which Wagner had embodied the legends of the German past. The history of the connection between the King and the artist has been told by the friends and enemies of both. That it marked a turning-point in the career of the composer is obvious. His dreams might now at last become realities. At least his two great works, "Tristan and Isolde" and "The Mastersingers," are produced worthily—the first in 1865, the second in 1868—both under the baton of Cosima's husband, Hans von Bülow. For a short year and a half he has a home in Munich, and even when he is obliged, owing to the intrigues of the King's ministers and the discontent of the King's subjects at his extravagant plans for the furtherance of dramatic art, to leave Bavaria and settle in Switzerland, he still retains the royal favour and has substantial support for the Bayreuth plan. The wildest tales were circulated of Wagner's extravagant living at this period; the luxury of the house in the Briennerstrasse, which the King presented to him, was described in detail in the notorious "Letters of a Decorator and Milliner" in 1877. The King's Ministers bewailed the

" undue influence " of the poet-musician on the over-emotionalized sovereign. It is interesting, now, to note that, after the King was forced to drop his plans for the erection of a Festival Play House in Munich, he turned his back on his capital and satisfied his building schemes by having erected, for his own private pleasure, his famous castles in the Bavarian Highlands, which he peopled with those creations of Germanic myth and saga that Wagner has immortalised in his dramas.

There are among Wagner's prose writings, published for the first time after his death, two sketches, such as he frequently made when thinking out matter for composition. One of these is " The Guest Meal of the Apostles " and the other " Jesus of Nazareth." The late George Moore praised the beauty of the latter and regretted that the magic of Wagner's music made the public careless of his merits as a writer. There is no doubt that both of those sketches have a certain relation to " Parsifal," Wagner's last great music drama, the theme of which is that of redemption by suffering and an apostleship of service, sustained by the Blood of the Redeemer symbolized in the Grail. The Grail had already occupied Wagner's thoughts in " Lohengrin," and he had meant to introduce " Parsifal " into that drama. But he put this idea aside, and he evidently shrank from the thought of bringing the Redeemer Himself upon the stage. During the work on " Tristan and Isolde " " Parsifal " again comes before him—and again it is put aside, until in 1865 he makes a sketch of the theme for King Ludwig. What could be more natural than his anxiety to communicate such a subject to a King whose Catholicism was of such a kind as to cause him to walk for hours behind the Blessed Sacrament in procession through the streets of his capital. Not until 1877, after " The Ring " has been produced in Bayreuth, does the actual work on " Parsifal " begin. The poem is published at the end of that year and the work of musical com-

position commenced. It is finished in 1882 on the 13th January, and on the 26th July the first performance is given at Bayreuth. "Parsifal" is generally looked upon as a specifically Catholic music drama, though the writer was a Lutheran. It is in any case Christian and employs symbols which are of the very texture of Catholic life. Parsifal himself, the "stainless fool," "wise through compassion," undoubtedly was in Wagner's mind a figure of the Redeemer Whom, as he says after the performance, he could not bear to see represented by a tenor. Kundry, as she is portrayed by Wagner, has something of Mary Magdalen. This is made clear in the scene in which she anoints the feet of Parsifal and dries them with her hair. Leonarda da Vinci's "Last Supper," which vividly imprinted itself on Wagner's mind when he saw it in Italy, is surely reproduced in the banquet hall scene, and the Grail Knights are a Christian, if not a Catholic, hierarchy.

After Wagner had been forced to leave the immediate neighbourhood of Munich, he settled in Triebschen, Lucerne, where two of his children were born. The Triebschen years, 1865-1872, are the period of friendship with Nietzsche, who was Professor in Bâle and whose alliance and break with Wagner still furnish the theme for many a dissertation. Nietzsche was himself passionately fond of music and played well. His essay "The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music" in 1872 is the direct result of Wagner's influence; his essay "Wagner in Bayreuth" in 1876 was hailed by the musician himself as showing an almost uncanny insight into his personality and his art; whilst his subsequent "Human, all too Human" (1878-80) and "The Case of Wagner" (1888) were the overture to and the echo of the final disillusionment. The pros and cons of that disillusionment would in themselves make a literature; but one thing is clear in the controversy: the extraordinary personality of Wagner and the glamour he had

for one of the most remarkable spirits of the age. At the end even when Nietzsche, in order to show his contempt for his fallen idol, had replaced him by Bizet (!), he tells us that he had never had such happiness as in his intercourse with this remarkable man and supreme artist.

Wagner moved to Bayreuth in 1872, where he had acquired a site for a festival play house. The rest of his life is spent in the efforts to raise funds for the building and in planning and supervising every detail of its construction. The foundation stone was laid on his birthday, 22nd May 1872, and on 2nd August 1873 it is finished "in the rough." It is a triumph of practical theatre building. The means are carefully adapted to the end. The seats, ranged in a semi-circle after the plan of the Greek amphitheatre, are all on the same ground plane; there is a "sunk" or concealed orchestra so contrived that "the sound of the instruments reaches the stage first and is then deflected, after mingling with the voices, to the top of the auditorium." The stage is of fitting proportions.

In 1873 the famous Wagner home "Villa Wahnfried" is also begun, and in 1874 the dream is at last realised—a home and grounds of his own designing. He is to live there for nine years in such peace as his restless spirit can ever know. But this passionate German is not destined to die on his own soil. Venice is to see the passing of his fiery spirit. To Venice, whither he had fled in 1859 to write the deathless "Liebestod" of "Tristan and Isolde," he now, in 1882, goes with Cosima to rest after their joint labours on the production of "Parsifal." There he dies of heart disease on the 13th February, 1883. From there his widow brings him back to be buried in the grounds of "Wahnfried." His home-coming was like that of a king. Royal honours were rendered to his remains. He *was* a sovereign in his own domain; the name of Wagner the musician will outlive that of most kings.

MARY M. MACKEN

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCILS[1]

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

THE extraordinary attempt—one might almost say campaign—to distort the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* into a condemnation of the capitalistic economic *régime* has had, among other evil results, the effect of distracting attention from the central teaching of Pope Pius XI. Not only does His Holiness declare that neither Pope Leo XIII nor he himself are to be understood as condemning the capitalistic economic *régime*, but in the very title of his Encyclical—"On Reconstructing the Social Order" (*De Ordine sociali instaurando*)—and all through its pages he is at pains to distinguish clearly between economic problems on the one hand and sociological problems on the other. That distinction is fundamental not only for a proper understanding of the Encyclical but for any fruitful discussion of the "social question." For the Pope, the capitalistic system "is not to be condemned, is not vicious of its very nature;" it is a neutral, indifferent technique of economic activity. What is to be condemned is the employment of this economic instrument by either of two types of social organisations to defeat the whole end of any economic system and indeed one of the important ends of human society itself. Capitalism wielded and misused by a communistic society (as in Russia at present) or by an individualistic society (as in England or Ireland) can be

[1] *Cf.* Lindner: *Die Wirtschaftsräte in Europa* (Berlin 1931), the best general sketch, though now considerably supplemented by the same lady's Report prepared for the League of Nations and published last winter. Lautaud et Poudenx: *La Représentation professionnelle* (Paris, 1927). Fucile: *Le Mouvement syndical* (Paris, 1929). Bottai: *Esperienza corporativa.* Tartarin-Tarnheyden: *Die Berufstände u. ihre Stellung im Staatsrecht u. die deutsche Wirtschaftsverfassung* (Berlin, 1922), a standard work of great value. Pieper: *Berufsgedanke u. Berufstand im Wirtschaftsleben* (M.-Gladbach, 1925), the Catholic point of view. Prélot: *La Réprésentation professionnelle dans l'Allemagne contemporaine* (Paris, 1924). Van der Velden: *Die Berufsständische Ordnung* (Köln, 1932). Defourny: *Vers la Réorganisation corporative* (Louvain, 1926).

made to produce and, as experience shows, will tend to produce gross material suffering, social injustices and the occasions for grave moral evils. But on the other hand, capitalism skilfully controlled by a properly organised society can result in great material welfare and make possible a high standard of intellectual and spiritual culture.

I

"Two things are particularly necessary," writes the Pope," the reform of the social order and the correction of morals (*institutionum reformatio atque emendatio morum*)."[1] The "correction of morals" is obviously a task involving continuous strenuous efforts on the part of the Church, the State and private individuals: a never-ending task, in which each of the three co-operators must loyally aid the other two if any measure of success is to be achieved. Fundamental, essential, supremely necessary as it is, nevertheless it cannot be the unique indispensable preliminary to any solution either of the present crisis or of the "social question" in general. Long before the normally slow process of moral conversion would have any appreciable effect on the functioning of our economic or social system, the deluge would be upon civilisation as we know it to-day. While, therefore, working steadily, as individuals or as organised forces, for the moral regeneration of the Western civilised peoples, men must at the same time turn their attention to the remoulding of their social life and institutions.

When We speak of the reform of the social order (reformationem . . . . institutionum) it is principally the State (respublica) We have in mind . . . because on account of the evil of "individualism," as We call it, things have come to such a pass that the highly developed social life, which once flourished in a variety of prosperous institutions organically linked with each other, has been damaged and all but ruined, leaving thus virtually only individuals

[1] *Quad. Anno.* C.T.S. edition, p. 36. The official English translation here as in a few other places is singularly unhappy; "*institutionum reformatio*" means a "remodelling of social structure (or institutions)," not "the social order."

and the State. Social life lost entirely its organic form ; the State, which now was encumbered with all the burdens once borne by associations rendered extinct by it, was in consequence submerged and overwhelmed by an infinity of affairs and duties.[1]

From this it seems clear (i) that the problem (apart from its moral aspect) is mainly sociological, not economic ; (ii) that it is connected with a loss of the " social sense " by individuals (" individualism ") ; (iii) that this loss has been caused, at least partially, by the fact that the political institution (the State, *respublica*) has lost its " social character " (*amissa forma regiminis socialis*) ; and finally (iv) that a reconstruction of " the variety of prosperous institutions organically linked together " will tend to (*a*) reawaken the " social sense " in citizens and (*b*) will at the same time relieve the State of burdens which it has proved incapable of carrying and which have hindered it in its proper function.[2]

Modern democracy, our *respublica*, is nothing more than an oligarchy licensed for a certain number of years by the unorganised mass of citizens and dependent to a great extent on a reasonably competent and benevolent bureaucracy. Half a dozen Cabinet Ministers (the " stronger " personalities of a given Cabinet) and a dozen or so Civil Servants (heads of departments or " experts ") literally dominate all the " social " and a great deal of the economic activity of the citizens of a country. The *régime* has not existed very long and has certainly not been a striking success. Citizens, deprived of any scope for the " social " side of their nature, became, unnaturally, " individualists," each intent on his own affairs. The

[1] *Q. Anno.* C.T.S., p. 36 : another example of the faultiness of the English translation ; a whole clause is omitted (*haud parvo ipsius rei publicae detrimento*) ; " social life lost entirely its organic form " is really the State [*respublica*], " *amissa forma regiminis socialis* . . . . . " ; and " encumbered " is " susceptis," a word with a hint of " unjust or inopportune usurpation " in it.

[2] It is not claimed that all this (or only this) is contained in the words of the Encyclical, but merely that it is a line of thought more or less definitely suggested by the whole context of the Encyclical and its pre-history. The number of " private interpretations " or misinterpretations of *Quadragesimo Anno* and *Rerum Novarum* has been too great already and their tone too dogmatic to make it desirable to add to them.

State, at the same time, found itself faced by the task of maintaining the smooth functioning of social relationships, a task requiring the whole-hearted co-operation of individual citizens. This co-operation, from the very nature and form of the State, has not been forthcoming: individuals, precisely because they felt themselves only "individuals" and not "members of a social body," became and remain "individualists," paying their Cabinet Ministers and Civil Servants to look after the social machine. Simultaneously, they jeopardise the running of this delicate moral mechanism by refusing to part with any of their individual liberty and by ruthlessly or thoughtlessly pursuing their own individual or class interests without any serious care whether these interests run counter to the common good of the whole. The result is that the State is forced to intervene, especially in the economic sphere, endeavouring by technical economic adjustments (tariffs, bounties, social services, taxation, etc.) to rectify evils and injustices due not to economic but to social causes. Were human society properly, that is, humanly and naturally, organised, the very existence and nature of this organisation combined with the nature of individual man would tend almost automatically to regulate economic activity for the common good. In so far, classical economists are quite right; there is a *praestabilita harmonia*, there is much wisdom, given the necessary conditions, in *laissez faire*. But what a proper social organisation would tend to produce almost automatically will never and can never be produced either by the external control of Cabinet Ministers or by the free play of economic forces in a deformed social system such as an individualistic society.

What, then, is the concrete remedy suggested by Pope Pius XI? It is well-known now, and very remarkable in this that force of circumstances and the "logic of facts" have forced half-a-dozen of the greatest nations of the world to turn of their own accord in its direction. "Let

those in power, therefore, be convinced that the more faithfully this principle [of subsidiary or auxiliary social activity][1] be followed and a graded hierarchical order exist between the various subsidiary organizations, the more excellent will be both the authority and efficiency of the social organization as a whole, and the happier and more prosperous the condition of the State." By supplying this very clear and definite criterion of the "Christianity" of political programmes and policies, the Pope has placed Catholic statesmen, especially those who proclaim their sincere desire for the triumph of Christian social principles, between the horns of a dilemma. Either the Pope is wrong or else "the primary duty of the State and of all good citizens [is] to abolish conflict between classes with divergent interests and thus foster and promote harmony between the various ranks of society. *The aim of social legislation must therefore be the re-establishment of vocational groups.*"[2] In Ireland there has been a very distinct movement among the instructed middle class to get the Pope's suggestions and advice put into practice. Both an economic and an educational "council" have been supported by a considerable body of opinion; but so far "vocational groups" have received little sympathy from either Cabinet Ministers or Civil Servants—who, very humanly and understandably, are not enthusiastic for having any brother near their throne. Yet the Pope's words are clear and weighty: ". . . it is an injustice, a grave evil and a disturbance of right order for a larger and higher

[1] *Q. Anno.* C.T.S., p. 37. Once more the English translation fails badly to convey the true sense; in fact it omits completely the whole point of the sentence (the words in brackets, which in the Latin are "servato hoc 'subsidiarii' officii principio"). One notes the influence of German sociological thought on the drafting of the Encyclical; this principle is familiar to German sociologists as "Prinzip der Subsidiarität der Gesellschaftstätigkeit."

[2] *Q. Anno.* C.T.S., p. 37. Here too the English translation has lost the point and force of the original. The Encyclical contrasts two technical sociological terms: "ut 'classium' oppositarum disceptatione superata, concors 'ordinum' conspiratio excitetur. . . . ." "Social legislation" is in Latin "ars politica socialis," which means rather "social policy and administration." From the English translation no one would suspect that the Pope uses the same term and in inverted commas for "various ranks" and "vocational groups" in the above quotation ("ordines").

organization to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower bodies. This is a fundamental principle of social philosophy, unshaken and unchangeable, and it retains its full truth to-day." [1] No country will be made more "Christian" merely by supporting a greater number of inhabitants, tilling its soil, distributing ownership and property, and becoming economically self-sufficient. All these may be very good or very bad in themselves or in certain circumstances. But something deeper, something more fundamental is required, and that is a social organisation based on the God-given nature and end of man and of human society and informed by the spirit of Christ and His teaching. *Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt qui aedificant eam.*

The practical concrete steps to be taken in "the re-establishment of vocational groups" and the "re-modelling of social institutions" are by no means easy to determine. It is one thing to see and admit the truth of a principle, it is quite another to draw up a programme of action in a given set of circumstances. It may be that the most promising line of approach will be from above downwards, that is, from (say) a national economic council representing the various groups in a rough and ready fashion would emerge a clearer picture of what these smaller groups should be and how they might be brought into existence as social units. It is with this idea in view that a brief sketch of the national economic councils of France and Germany is here put forward. As is well known, France, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Jugo-slavia, and to some extent Spain, all have national economic councils representing the various branches of economic and professional activity. But France and Germany are probably the two countries from which most can be learned in this matter. It is not the national economic council itself that is of importance: it is rather

[1] *Ibid.* p. 37.

the fact that such a council presupposes some initial organic articulation of society in the sense of vocational groups, and then perfects and intensifies the life of these groups.

II

The corporative organisation of society met its end in France, both in the political and economic spheres, early in the French Revolution. Indeed, in the political sphere its destruction was one of the first events which occurred: when Louis XVI gave way to the insistent demands of the Tiers Etat during May and June 1789, and ordered "his faithful nobles and faithful clergy" to join the bourgeois body and vote *par tête* and not *par ordre*. It is probably true that the three "estates," [1] which constituted the political (and social) organisation of France at that time, were, in point of detail, not altogether in conformity with the social realities and needs. But, in principle and fundamentally, the "estate" organisation was and remains much superior to its post-revolution substitute of an "atomised" voting-body, artificial territorial divisions or constituencies, and political "parties." [2] On the economic side the work of destroying the corporative organisation was accomplished by the Law of 2-17 March, 1791 and the law of Le Chapelier of 14 and 17 June of the same year. Not only did these laws abolish the old guild structure, but they forbade any similar form of association between citizens. It was not until nearly a hundred years later that the French saw the folly of their ways in this matter and restored the right of association in 1884. In Ireland the views we form in our school-days of the *ancien régime* come to us generally through an English lens. A study of society in those days in French writers and, especially, in the

[1] A wholly satisfactory English term is wanting; the phrase "states-in-life" is, perhaps, the best there is, corresponding to the Latin "*status*" or "*ordo*" and to the German "*Stand*."

[2] In France it is still *the family* that is the political unit, only heads of families, actual or potential, having a vote. Ireland has followed England in completely "atomising" society by introducing universal adult suffrage.

"Cahiers of the States General" [1] reveals how often and how greatly that lens has distorted the truth. There is no need to go back to the Middle Ages to find a social organisation from which much might be learned by modern democracies: scarcely a hundred and fifty years separate us from one, and a hundred and fifty years rendered abnormal in many ways by the industrial revolution, the rise of classical political economy and political revolutions.

Another definite step in the return to the old order has now been taken. The National Economic Council in France was brought into existence in January 1925 by a decree issued by the Herriot Government. It was quite openly declared that the chief object of this Council was to enable the economic and social interests of the country to collaborate to some degree in the administration and government. The central government, it was felt, could not adequately promote the economic and social welfare of the whole community nor secure substantial (distributive) social justice as between the various branches of the economic life without a closer formal co-operation of economic interests as such. The Council has a three-fold task: (i) to examine and discuss all the major economic and social problems that arise or are likely to arise—a task of vigilant supervision; (ii) to secure for the Government the technical advice of persons who are at once specialists in their own department and representatives of practical business or professional organisations; (iii) to maintain a permanent *liaison* between the actual economic and business world and the various Ministers who have to deal directly or indirectly with economic affairs. This task, it was admitted, was necessary and useful, but was not and could not be satisfactorily carried out by the ordinary Civil Service. There was no question of the Council being allowed to usurp any of rights of the

[1] *Cf.* Picard: *Les Cahiers de* 1789 *et les Classes ouvrières.* Martin Saint-Léon: *Histoire des Corporations de Métiers.* A most interesting comparison is afforded by the works of the Hammonds (*The Village Labourer*, etc.) and by those of Babeau (*Le Village sous l'Ancien Régime*, etc.).

Parliament or of the Cabinet, nor even of its dealing in detail with the solutions to various problems. It was rather to enable various economic interests to express, through their elected representatives, their points of view as to the general needs of each branch and their suggestions as to the best way to meet these needs, having regard to the interests of other branches and of the country as a whole. It makes possible the definite and competent expression of a certain public opinion which is not generally heard in parliaments and only partially and disjointedly in the press.

The National Economic Council is directly under the Prime Minister. It discusses and gives its opinion on matters submitted to it by the Government and at the same time can examine propositions brought up by its own members. Any given law may make collaboration of the Council obligatory in the application of its own terms and regulations. Its reports and advice must be brought before the Cabinet, and in certain cases must be published in the *Journal Officiel*. Its internal organisation consists of (i) a general assembly; (ii) a permanent committee; and (iii) a secretariat. The general assembly is composed of 141 elected representatives, who are drawn from three large "groups of interests" into which the population is supposed to divide itself more or less naturally. They may be roughly labelled as (i) Consumers and middle class; (ii) Labour, intellectual and manual; (iii) Capital and Finance. The first group (Consumers) elects 27 members, representative of six different sub-divisions: consumers' co-operative societies, union of mayors and communes, federations of "large families," saving-bank depositors, and others. The second group (Labour) has 90 delegates; 9 for intellectual workers and education, 33 for managerial work, *i.e.* industry, commerce, agriculture, 42 for wage-earners and officials, and 6 for rural and urban artisans. The third group (Capital) is given 24 delegates: 9 each for industry and

commerce, and the rest between owners of land and financial interests (banks, insurance, etc.). The members of the general assembly do not receive any allowance, but are given their travelling expenses. The Prime Minister settles which organisations shall be represented in the assembly and in what proportion, but the selected organisations then choose freely their own delegates.

The National Economic Council meets four times a year for a period of ten days. The Prime Minister is *ex-officio* president of the general assembly, but the effective presidency is actually supplied by the four elected vice-presidents, representing agriculture, industry, labour and the consumers. The second organ of the Council, the permanent committee, is composed of these four vice-presidents and ten other elected members. It acts as a sort of executive council to the assembly, securing the despatch of business in the intervals between the quarterly meetings, drawing up reports, agenda, questionnaires etc., and transmitting the opinion and advice of the Council to the Ministers or to the Chamber. The secretariat is at the service of the permanent committee, especially in the matter of supplying technical information, preserving files, assembling a library, instituting enquiries and the like. When the Council has presented a report or recommendation to the Prime Minister, this latter is bound by law to inform the Council within a month of the action he intends to take or else submit the whole matter a second time to the Council, the recommendation being, meanwhile, published in the official gazette. Up to the present the Council has published an immense amount of highly valuable information and suggestion, grouped into nine reports. Its first report (February, 1926) was on the problem of housing. This was followed in 1927 by an elaborate and skilfully planned programme of works to be undertaken should unemployment become acute. The Council then set itself the task of thoroughly

examining the problem of *l'outillage national* (*e.g.* the public works, canals, harbours, roads, etc.), on which it published four series of reports (1927-1929), crowned by a fifth giving its considered advice as to the improvement and perfection of *l'outillage national*. It then began an examination of "the situation of the principal branches of the national economy," and has completed its study and recommendations on agriculture (1931) and the first sections of industry, its latest report being on the cotton and wool industry (April, 1932).

The Conseil National Economique during its eight years of existence has been very favourably regarded by those most competent to judge—hostile criticism coming only from certain interests represented by such papers as *Le Temps*.[1] This latter justified its opposition by naïvely pointing out that the C. N. E. really amounted to a kind of return to "une redoutable efflorescence de cet esprit corporatif dont la Révolution française avait parfaitement entrevu les dangers." At the other extreme, the French Fascists, under Georges Valois, consider that the C. N. E. does not go far enough in the corporative direction. "Nous allons organiser les forces économiques en corporations dont chacune groupera l'ensemble d'une production manuelle ou mentale de la Nation sous ces quatre éléments constitutifs : Capital, Direction, Technique, Travail. Chacune de ces corporations élira un Conseil supérieur . . . . ." But as against this, such widely different judges as Poincaré, the late Charles Gide, and Léon Jouhaux, the general secretary of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, all see much good in the Council and still more in its possibilities. It is true that the C. N. E. is still in an experimental stage and that its

[1] It is frequently stated that the majority of the shares in *Le Temps* et *Le Journal des Débats* are held by the same men who form the *Comité des Forges*, the *Comité des Houillières*, and the *Comité des Compagnies d'assurances*. On January 30th last a historic scene took place in the Sorbonne, where two of the directors of *Le Temps* were unable to give satisfactory answers to public accusations that *Le Temps*, in the interests of "*les marchands de canons*," was using its influence against peace : they were hissed off the stage and literally ran for their lives from the great aula (amphithéâtre Richelieu).

definitive erection has not yet been proceeded with, although the Bill has passed its first reading. But Poincaré has declared " qu'il était une de ces institutions provisoires qui gagnent tous les jours de nouveaux droits à l'immortalité." Jouhaux, who himself had organised an unofficial national economic council immediately after the war, has expressed his adherence to the C. N. E. in the formula : " ce qu'il faut, c'est organiser les rapports entre les éléments patronaux et ouvriers *en fonction de l'intérêt générale qui les domine* "—a formula not hitherto often heard from the C. G. T. ranks. The object of Jouhaux's own economic council, now defunct, was to pave the way for a certain form of " nationalisation " as opposed to " state ownership and management." All the large and especially vital economic undertakings were to be " owned " and administered by boards composed of representatives of workers, " techniciens," and users.

This is really a form of co-operation that, theoretically, has very much to be said for it and, practically, has been eminently successful in many enterprises (including railways) in Belgium and France. Its technical name is La Régie coopérative[1] and its definition, now famous in France, is : " the exploitation of an enterprise [by workers, management and users] not with the view of realising an individual profit or of distributing dividends, but solely in view of the needs of the community and with no other end than to procure for the consumers [users] the maximum of utility and economy." From a Christian or Catholic point of view this is precisely the only proper end of any economic system and has been advocated without interruption by Catholic writers since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.[2] The characteristic note which

[1] *Cf.* Lavergne : *Les Régies coopératives.* Credit, railways, water supply, and housing have all been organised under this form in Belgium. In France river-drainage and water-power undertakings are so organised. Had some kind of an economic council been in existence in Ireland, the present individualistic solution of the transport problem could never have threatened the country ; indeed the transport problem could never have reached its present complexity.

[2] St. Thomas : S. T. 2a, 2ae q. 77 a. 4.

distinguishes Catholic ideas from those of the "classical" economists is this: "classical" economists held (and hold) the view that the general good is best attained if individuals are allowed freedom to seek primarily their own private advantage and benefit—an individualistic faith; while Catholics hold that the general good must be sought directly and immediately (not merely indirectly and mediately by the desire of private profits) and at least as equally primarily as the individual's good: sought, moreover, by those who have no interest in profits or dividends being given a share in the control of the enterprise—a vocational corporative solution.

III

Germany and Austria were very much slower and more reluctant than France to abolish the corporative organisation in either politics or economics. Moreover, when they did eventually introduce *Gewerbefreiheit*,[1] they very quickly began to have doubts about its advantages, and the second half of the 19th century presents a constant legislative effort in both countries to bring back the main features of the old system adapted to modern conditions. This tendency is even more marked in the host of theoretical works on politics, law and economics published in Germany in the second half of the 19th century. Bismarck himself, partly from conviction but chiefly as a cunning tactical manoeuvre, set up a Prussian Economic Council (*Volkswirtschaftsrat*) in 1880. It was composed of 75 members appointed by the king, 30 of whom were representative of workmen and artisans, and 45 of

[1] Prussia in 1810 introduced a limited form of "freedom of industry," keeping however the old *Innungen* (a form of guild). But it was not till 1845 that a definitive *Gewerbeordnung* was promulgated for all Prussian territory, and this too recognised in some degree a corporative organisation. Austria introduced a modified *Gewerbefreiheit* only in 1859, Nassau in 1860, Saxony, Baden and Württemberg 1861. There was always a strong movement in the Germanic countries, reflected in many laws, to restore the general principle and scheme of the guild system as the only defence against capitalism being grossly abused by individualistic financial and industrial concerns. *Cf.* V. Brants: *Le Régime corporatif au XIX siècle dans les Etats germaniques.*

commerce, industry and agriculture. Its object, Bismarck declared, was twofold: to give competent, well-informed advice and to represent and defend the corporative interests of the different economic branches, with an independence, knowledge and zeal impossible in any political "party." [1] The Catholic social writers [2] especially were practically unanimous in seeing in a restoration of the corporative system the only sure guarantee that the working-class would be eventually "incorporated" into society as a whole, and not remain always as a warring element on the outskirts. It was inevitable, then, that the new constitution of Weimar would contain some features of a corporative system. The detailed history of the drawing up of that constitution, and particularly of its economic side, has many points of interest; [3] but for the moment only that portion of the finished product known as the Reichswirtschaftsrat can be dealt with.

On the 5th April, 1919, Article 34a of the proposed Constitution was moved in the National Assembly and agreed to after some minor changes and the rejection of amendments coming from both the extreme Left and the extreme Right. This Article 34a became Article 165 in the definitive text of the Weimar Constitution passed on 31st July and promulgated on the 11th August, 1919. The workers and employees of every description are given the right to be legally represented on the Workers' Factory Councils, the Workers' Regional Councils (formed by economic regions), and the Workers' National Council, with a view to guaranteeing their social and economic interests. The Workers' Regional Councils and the Workers' National Council, in order to fulfil their general economic task and to collaborate in the execution of the

[1] *Cf. Bismarcks Plan eines deutschen Volkswirtschaftsrats* by Dr. Curtius (afterwards Foreign Minister).

[2] Vogelsang and Hitze were the most insistent, but even the prudent Windthorst declared in 1873 in the Reichstag that he favoured the "old German system."

[3] *Cf.* Giese: *Die Verfassung des deutschen Reiches* (1920); Wittmayer: *Die Weimarer Reichsverfassung* (1922); Rathenau: *Kritik der dreifachen Revolution* (1919); *Die neue Gesellschaft* (1919). H. Nawiasky: *Grundprobleme der Reichsverfassung* (1928).

socialisation laws, will form with the representatives of the employers and other interested organisations Regional Economic Councils and a National Economic Council. The R. E. C. and the N. E. C. should be so constituted as to represent the chief professional groups according to their social and economic importance. Social and economic laws must be submitted by the Government to the N. E. C. for its opinion; and the N. E. C. has the right to initiate such laws itself. The Government, even if it disagrees with the opinions or propositions of the N. E. C., must bring them before Parliament, and the N. E. C. has the right to defend its propositions in the Chamber by one of its own members. The Workers' Councils and the Economic Councils may be given powers of control and administration for their respective spheres.[1] This Article of the Constitution is the result of a compromise: the "Council (Soviet) system" of political organisation is rejected, and the parliamentary form of democracy is maintained; but in the economic sphere, removed from political power, the advantages of a Council system are recognised as a constituent element of a corporative economic organisation. At the same time an attempt is made to give the economic interests as such greater possibilities of making their reasoned views and suggestions weigh in the deliberations of Parliament and Governments.

Up to the present this Article has not been put fully into operation by the necessary laws. Only two stages of the corporative structure have been set up: the Factory Councils (Betriebsrätegesetz: Feb. 1920)[2] and the Provisional National Economic Council (Reichswirtschaftsrat: May 1920). It is only this latter which can be dealt with here. The N. E. C., as it exists to-day, is composed of

[1] The above sketch is almost a translation of the main clauses of Art. 165. The influence of the Russian Soviet experiment was, of course, very considerable in Germany in 1919, as was also the tendency to see in "socialisation" the final objective of the N.E.C.

[2] Dr. T. Brauer has treated this law in his book *Das Betriebsrätegesetz u. die Gewerkschaften* (1920) and also in an article in the *Staatslexikon* (1926).

326 members representing ten groups as follows: (i) 68 for Agriculture and Forestry (22 for employers, 22 for workers, 14 for small farmers, 4 for co-operative societies, 6 for forestry). (ii) 6 for Horticulture and Fisheries. (iii) 68 for Industry, divided into two sections, corporative and regional. (iv) 44 for Commerce, Banks and Assurance. (v) 34 for Transport and Public Undertakings. (vi) 36 for the Crafts and Trades. (vii) 30 for Consumers. (viii) 16 for Public Officials and Liberal Professions (including music and art). (ix) 12 to represent the economic life of various parts of the country. (x) 12 appointed by the Government.

The General Assembly of the Council elects a President, two vice-Presidents and a committee of six deputy Presidents—the whole nine, with nine "Under-secretaries," forming the Committee of Direction. A secretariat is put at their disposal. The Committee of Direction must always contain an equal number of representatives of employers, employees, and "other branches," those being the three big sections into which the Council is divided.

There are two "Principal Commissions:" that of economic policy and that of social policy. In addition, there are nine "special permanent committees" for such things as transport, financial policy, housing. A peculiar feature of the situation is that while the Committee of Direction, the Commissions, and the special committees have all been very active, the General Assembly has not met since June 1923 owing to the expense it involves. For practical purposes, the two "Permanent Commissions" of 30 members each (and 30 substitutes) are the National Economic Council, working through the Committee of Direction and special committees.

The history of the *Reichswirtschaftsrat* falls into three divisions. It was opened on June 30th, 1920 by Fehrenbach, the Catholic president of the Weimar National Assembly, who hailed it as "the first economic parliament in the world." The meeting took place in the former

Prussian House of Lords, and certainly the personnel of the Council was brilliant in the extreme. There were the big landed proprietors and agriculturists; the chief industrial magnates—Deutsch, von Siemens, Borsig, Stinnes, Rathenau; the bankers Mendelsohn and Salomonsohn; shipping in the person of Cuno, the future Chancellor; politicians who had been Ministers of Labour or Commerce and Industry; Catholic Trade Union leaders as well as prominent socialists such as Kautzky and Hilferding. One of the members[1] of the Council writing afterwards in 1927 noted the enormous influence which these dominant personalities exercised on the formation of the collective spirit and self-respect of the Council. Up to 1923 the Council was undoubtedly a considerable force in Germany and indeed outside it, and its work in the difficult post-war years was invaluable to the Government of the day.

The second period begins with June 1923 when, owing to the inflation and the need for strict economy, it was agreed to suspend the meetings of the Assembly and allow the Commissions and Committees to continue their work independently. It was during this second period that the more solid, if less spectacular, work of the Council has been accomplished.[2] Such questions as the stabilisation of the currency, the fiscal reform, tariffs, the policy of compulsory lowering of prices, and above all the handling of unemployment and the drawing up of a national plan to meet it, and many similar matters were dealt with by the Commissions. The task of carrying out a complete survey of the economic life of the country, production, consumption, capital works etc., has been now entrusted to the Council.

The third period began with the crisis of 1931, which demanded dictatorial measures in both political and economic life, with the consequence that the N.E.C.'s

[1] Hackenburg: *Lebenserinnerungen.*

[2] A general report of the first six years of the Council has been published by its Secretary, Dr. Hauschild: *Der vorläufige Reichswirtschaftsrat* 1920-26. A second report is in preparation.

influence and activity have been greatly limited. However, it has continued its study of the various economic problems, has amassed a great deal of vital information and maintains its attitude of impartial, vigilant guardian of the economic and social interests of the country. What developments will take place under the new *régime* cannot be easily foretold. A Europe in which Germany (and probably Austria), Spain and Italy have " gone corporative," while Russia is communist and the rest individualist, does not seem so far distant.

The practical advantages of an " economic parliament " are many and obvious : at least as many and as obvious as the disadvantages. The *laissez faire* policy of trusting in natural forces to produce economic and social harmony was always dangerous and often disastrous. But not less dangerous is governmental interference, which—as experience shows—is almost necessarily characterised by haste, half-knowledge and political prejudices. Again and again it has been demonstrated and established by facts, in Ireland as elsewhere, that no Cabinet of Ministers and no Civil Service is capable (i) of acquiring all the relevant information and view-points on economic questions ; (ii) of giving them adequate, leisured consideration ; (iii) of having all the requisite technical knowledge of economics, sociology, ethics, business practice, markets, etc. ; (iv) of forming an impartial, cool, objective judgment free from political party considerations. Neither for that matter is any " economic parliament." But the presence of such an assembly will certainly tend to lessen the costly mistakes in which a—perhaps excusable—haste and ignorance can involve a country.

The real significance, however, of national economic councils is to be found rather in the question of principle. They are an attempt, imperfect and hesitant, but still noteworthy, to break away from an utterly false social philosophy : the belief that human society is composed only of individuals and the State. This belief is what

Quadragesimo Anno most clearly condemns. Society is not an amorphous mass of individual voters arbitrarily divided into territorial "constituencies." Political "parties" are no more a natural social form than are social "classes." Not only do national economic councils represent in some way society as an organic entity; but they presuppose and hence encourage a more intense social life in the small organic institutions, and in this way they promote the social, as distinguished from the individualistic, spirit in the citizens. These smaller social bodies, corporations, guilds, universities, learned societies, trade unions have an essential function in the life of the whole social body. From a technical economic point of view they have a function of regulating production in quantity, quality and price, of directing it into the proper channels and of securing stability combined with progress. But their social value is much greater: they awake in men that social sense analogous to the "family sense" which marriage so generally creates even in the most seemingly unpromising subjects; they act as a steady external force of pressure to keep their members from being too selfish, too individualistic—forcing them, be it only from human respect and fear of penalties, to pay regard to the common good of their group even at some cost to themselves; and they form the best and very necessary and natural environment for the promotion of that "reform of morals," internal and personal, which is the *sine qua non* of any well-ordered and prosperous society, and which cannot be imposed on men by external regulations or force. No wonder Pope Pius XI uses extremely grave words on this matter of vocational groups. The attempt to ignore them or suppress their rightful activities, or deny to them their just claims call forth this condemnation: "It is an injustice, a grave evil, and a disturbance of right order. . . . . ."

E. J. Coyne

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XXVI

TRUST NOT THE WORLD

GOFRAIḊ FIONN Ó DÁLAIG etc.

1. Coṁṙaċ ḋo ḟuan a ḟaoġail
ḟuaṙaiṙ ḟioṙ ġaċ anḃaoġail
an ṫé ḋo ḋealḃ an ḋoṁan
óṙ é aṙ ḋeaṙḃ ḋoḋ ḋíoċoġaḋ.

2. Mac Dé leṙ ḋoiṙṫeaḋ a ḟuil
ṁilleaṙ ḋo ḟuan a ḟaoġail
láṁ ḟan ġcṙuinne ċuiṙṙiḋ
ḋál ṫuinne ḟa ṫoṙċuiṙṫiḃ.

3. Moiṙġeolaiḋ ḟiḃ aṙ ḃaṙ ḟuan
[a] ḟaoġal anḃa an ṫ-aṁluaḋ
caoṙa ṫeineaḋ ceaṫa cloċ
ḋeiṙeaḋ an ḃeaṫa iṙ ḃaoġlaċ.

4. Ní ṫṙáṫ aṙ ḃṙaġáil aṙ ḟailli
ḃeaġ ḋaṙ ḋṫéaṙma tá ṙoṁainn
i nḋóiġ ġomaḋ ḋeiṙeaḋ ḋi
neiṁṙeaḋ iṙ cóiṙ ṙa ċṙuinne.

5. Ḃṙiaṫṙa Ċṙíoṙḋ ġé ḋo-ċluinim
ní hiaḋ aṙ ṁó ṁeaḃṙuiġim
ṙġéala Dé [ṫaṙ] an ḋoṁan
méala mé n-a meaḃṙoġaḋ.

6. Ní ṫṙáṫ ḋaṁ mo ḃeiṫ aṙ ḃaoiṙ
ḋo ṙinne cṙé ḋom ċoṁaoiṙ
iṙ ṙia 'ṙ iṙ ṙia an óiġe uaṁ
a Ḋia ní m'óiḋe m'aṁluaḋ.

7. Tiocfa ar ar gceann leat ar leat
[fineadh] fa comraidh cléireach
gabuidh fin fíodh ar ar fon
do-bir [gá] díol [gach] deachmadh.

8. Leigim mo dheachmaidh gan díol
bhfirim deich n-aithne an airdrígh
mór do-nim nar déanta dam
bím gan déarca do déanamh.

9. Cá hurra a n-áireamh fa thí
thiur 'n-a aonar an t-airdrí
fí nimhe 'n-a thí threanaidh
go dtí im chridhe a chreideamhain.

10. Tairgfidh mé 'r ir mithidh dam
mo cúir re Dia do déanamh
tuigim nach géadh gheim eile
do géan le heirr m'aimreire.

11. Le fíg na ndúl a-dirim
ar fáir Críosd mar chuimnigim
i ndóig fáilte d'fagáil dam
fláinte [ó] anáir [a n-iarradh].

12. Dá gach bhoidh dar himreadh ort
táinig fíol Adhaim d'fortacht
an talamh ar ar fear t'fuil
neamh ir tarradh don talmhuin.

13. Ag fo a codhnaig naomh nimhe
oruidh d'iarraidh maithmhige
mé agus m'almra leam im láimh
fearr ar n-anmra dót fágbáil.

14. D'ioc fola re Dia dhamra
thuag gan a fíor agamra
ir fearr fníomh ar bheith na mbocht
a fíog ná beith ar bochtacht.

15. Fuair fól i ndiaidh a ndeafna
ir amhail tú a Tigearna
ir maith gach oic do-ní neach
a fí [agus] tocht 'n-a taitneach.

16. Go dtí díot gan m'anmain ann
peacadh a Dé dá ndearnam
gan teacht a coimhde ar an gcol
bearr ar doilge ná a déanamh.

17. Deith do thoil na colla chiadh
do-géanadh Iosa d'aimhiar
ir cosadh orr a Dé dam
gan mé ar mo chorp i gcosadh.

18. Ir fiu ar beirthe a buidhe
a chodnaigh gach chriosduidhe
córa a buidhe do bheith fiu
ná beith do duine ar [dítheidh].

19. Mairg nach tuigeann i dtrádh cóir
mar tá an faogal ag fearnóir
ir ché na huile ar ndul de
[cur] an duine fa [dhíle].

20. Gan dul d'éag ná d'aoir dúinne
ir é adhbar m'iomthnúidhe
do-géabhthaoi é a-nocht ar neamh
ar dtocht an-é don aingeal.

21. Rem iarraidh gidh bé do beath
tiocfa aimsear do b'aithreach
uch ní hionghnadh a fagáil
ag fhuil [ionglan] Orthanáin.

22. Fada ó chúiteachadh mo chean
fiodhal ['n-a] ceann ní chuireadh
d'eaglais an airdir ir lór linn
an Róm d'faisrin i n-airlingh.

23. Do-béarla iul ar Dia dam
adrad do Muire mátar
do-beir ré ar mearugad me
neamumal mé do Muire.

24. Beag nac ionann 'r a n-éarla
tiocfa am bur aitmeala
d'anáir ní bí ar na boctaib
ní d'fagáil acd d'iomarcaib.

25. Ir í coigill bud fearr air
caiteam conáig an traogail
[gan] maitear ní bia go brát
gid cia caitear a conác.

26. Cúir an uaibair ir é a dearb
rug na haingil i n-ifearn
ní bí tuile nac téid ar
tréig a duine do díomar.

27. Tabair do Chríord do cride
gab it olcaib aitrige
cuir read a duine fa deoir
neam ní fuige dot aimdeoin.

28. Go dtí díom mar dleagar
mo ceana do cúiteagad
tugad forg dá ndéanaim dam
corg dom déaraib ná dearnar.

29. Ir meara damra ná dí
ar bruir d'abaill na haitne
gar fallra amgar Éaba
damra ir adbar aitméala.

30. Dá ionramail aca roin
dá teagdair iarrma Adaim
'n-a hoidce a-tá [an] tread oile
an lá i dteag na trócuire.

31. Mac Muire mait dar gcabair
fáinig gan fíor d'iudalaib
a huaig ar ar doiligh dul
an oidid fuair nár iocar.

32. Dia i n-uaig dá thrát nó trí
do folcad d'úir an t-airdrí
go dtáinig uan Moire a-mac
fuan a croide fa corrac. Corrac.

Translation

1. Restless thy repose, O world ! Thou hast known every terror, for the world's maker is plainly set on thy ruin.

2. God's Son who shed His blood disturbs thy rest, O world. His hand laid on the world shall be as a flood overwhelming crops.

3. He shall—dread affliction !—wake thee from slumber, O world ; fearful the world's end, bolts of flame and showers of stones.

4. Now is no time for remissness ; short the spell left us ; we should despise the world, believing that spell to be its end (for us).

5. Though I know of Christ's words, not them do I heed most ; I grieve thinking of the Gospel in contrast with the world.

6. No time this for folly ; my comrades are now clay ; ever further recedes my youth ; (yet) O God, what disturbs me is not my youth (but my coming death).

7. For each of us comes a lying-out in the priests' choir (?) ; this wins pardon for us ; it pays all (our) tithes (?)

8. I leave my tithe unpaid and break the Lord's ten commandments ; much I do which I should not ; I give no alms.

9. May the belief in Heaven's three-fold King, the High-King, three in one—is it any easier to call them three ?—sink into my heart.

10. I will try—'tis time !—to plead my cause with God ; I know I shall get no other chance ; I will do it now at the end of my days.

11. I will speak to the Creator, recalling Christ's passion, hoping thus to win welcome (in Heaven) ; salvation on account of Him is what I shall ask.

12. From the suffering inflicted on Thee comes the salvation of Adam's race ; Heaven is the fruit of the earth whereon fell Thy blood.

13. Behold me, O Lord of Heaven's saints, asking Thy pardon, my alms in hand ; my love of Thee is the greater for having abandoned Thee.

14. By way of requiting God's blood—alas ! I realise it not—'tis better to suffer by serving the poor than to rely altogether on the poverty of (Christ) their King.

15. Beneficial is a man's sin, O Lord, if only he repent of it ; Paul found it so after his sin, and I am like him (a sinner).

16. Grant that I abide not in whatever sin I commit, O God ; not to rise from it, O Lord, is worse than to commit it.

17. To obey the earthy flesh would be to disobey Jesus; not to war with my body is to war with Thee, O God.

18. Giving thanks to Thee, O Lord, for my being a hermit is more meritorious than my being one; to Thee is the thanks for it due.

19. Woe to him who sees it not in time; the world is preaching it; . . . . . .

20. Never to know death or old age is my desire; this desire would be attained any night in Heaven, the angel (of death) having come the night before.

21. The obstacle (sin) to this desire of mine—a day will come when I shall rue it!—shall be visited—no wonder!—with lamentation at Jordan's murky stream.

22. Far from atoning my sins, I take no step towards Rome; shrinking from that journey, I content myself with dreaming of Rome.

23. Clinging to Mary Mother will bring me to God; disobedience to her sends me astray.

24. No proper regard for the poor is to give them something merely from our superfluity; 'tis almost as bad as refusing them altogether; a day will come when we shall regret it.

25. The best way to save worldly wealth is to spend it; never shall he be poor who gives it (to the poor).

26. Pride—'tis certain—brought the Angels to Hell; every flood must ebb; therefore give up thy pride.

27. Give Christ thy heart; do penance for thy sins; set store on tears; Heaven shall not be pressed on thee.

28. May I succeed in atoning for my sins as is my duty; my eye was given me for shedding tears; let me not check them.

29. What Eve robbed from the Tree of Knowledge harmed me more than her; a deceptive gain was Eve's loss and brings me bitter grief.

30. There are two similitudes for the two houses of Adam's race; day shines in the House of Mercy, the other abode (Hell) is as night.

31. Mary's Son, kind Saviour, rose, unknown to the Jews, from the close-guarding grave; let me not have to requite the death He suffered.

32. The Lord God was covered by the earth for two, nay three, days; till her Lamb rose again, Mary's heart was restless.

Notes

MSS.: 23 G 23 p. 259 (G); 23 G 27 p. 246 (g); 23 M 30 p. 357 (M); 23 N 35 p. 154 (N); F vi 1 p. 130 (F); F ii 3 p. 173 (f); 23 E 14 p. 154 (E).

All the MSS are late and corrupt. Except for a few cases (noted below) M is the same as E, and N is the same as G,g, F,f.

1*b* Aonḃaoġail N *d* ar é N 2*cd* cuirpe : torċuirṫe MN. 3*b* an MN. 4*a* dar ḃraġáil N. 5*c* ar (MN) leaves syllable short. Trans. of couplet uncertain. 7*a* tiocfaiḋ M, tiocfaḋ NG gf. *b* rinne MN *b* ċoṁaiḋ, *cf.* IGT §7 *c* gaḃuiḋ MN. *d* gan NM; gan N, an E. 8*a* ḋeaċṁaḋ MN. 9*a* hurra áṁeaṁ N. *b* na aonar M, na aon FG, ar aon Ng, 10*c* gaċ g. N. 11*d* an MN; iarrfad MN. 14*b* gan not in N. *c* an feaḟḟ N. For sense of ar ḃreiṫ. *cf.* Dán Dé xix 2 n. *d* a mboċtaċt M; ar rocraċt N. 15*b* a ḟaṁail atú MN. *d* ir MN. 17*b* ḋéanaṁ MN. 18*d* ḋíbirt MF, díbir NGgf. 19*cd* corrupt. *d* rir cré MN; ḋeire MN. 20*a* éag na aoir M, deag na aoir NGgf, deag an aoir F. 21*a* feam 1. MN; Trans. uncertain. *b* tiocfaiḋ MGf, tiocfaḋ Ng F. *d* iodan MN. 22*b* im MN. „ Rome" here used for „ Heaven." (?) 25*c* gaċ (MN) could stand but less well. 28*b* ċeantuġaḋ M. 29*c* fallra gar aṁġar (MN) could stand if dar aṁ be read for darra in *d*, but would give less satisfactory meaning. 30*c* an not in MN. 31*cd* doiltge : oigde MN.

CHRONICLE

I.—Centenary of the St. Vincent de Paul Society [1]

BY REV. DERMOT M. BOYLAN, M.A., PH.D.

THE opening of the nineteenth century found France in spiritual ruin. The spirit of the Revolution, violently opposed to the traditional conservatism of the Church, had continued even after the monarchical restoration, and had wrought havoc in the sphere of religion. Rationalism and Materialism were the creeds of the hour. Moral laxity was universal. Religious life was at a very low ebb.

Nowhere was this state of affairs more apparent than in the universities, where student-life was conducted in an atmosphere of atheism and religious indifference. But the cause of Christ is never without its defenders. In the month of November, 1831, there came to the Sorbonne, to study law, a young man of barely eighteen years—Frederick Ozanam. Soon associating himself with a study circle, formed among the Catholic students for debating points of history and philosophy, his talent and force of character rapidly gained for him a dominating influence.

Mere academic discussion, however, would not satisfy the energy and zeal of Ozanam in the service of religion. Taunted on one occasion by a youthful assailant in debate with the lack of works of charity in the life of the Church at that period, Ozanam determined there and then to devote himself to the active service of his religion. And that same evening, his biographer tells us, he and a companion brought firewood to some poor families of the neighbourhood. The more generous among his fellow-students of the study circle became infected with his enthusiasm. To give system and permanence to their work they determined to form themselves into a definite organisation and to meet regularly.

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[1] *Ozanam.* Par Georges Goyau. (Flammarion. 1931. 12fr.)
Frédéric Ozanam et l' Eglise. Par F. Méjecaze, D.D. (Vitte. 1932. 25fr.)
Société de S. Vincent de Paul. Par Albert Foucault. (Spes. 1933. 25fr.)
Livre du Centenaire. L'Oeuvre d'Ozanam à travers le monde. (Beauchesne. 1933. 30fr.)
Frederick Ozanam. By Rev. Henry Hughes, D.Litt. (Brown & Nolan. 1933. 3s. 6d.
Friedrich Ozanam. Von H. Auer. (Freiburg: Caritasverlag. 1933. M4).

The director of their debating club, M. Bailly,[1] warmly encouraged the idea and offered them a room for the purpose in the office of his newspaper, the *Tribune Catholique*; and so, one evening in May, 1833, in the Rue du Petit Bourlin, with Bailly as President, Ozanam and five companions held the first conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. The grain of mustard-seed was sown.

At this inaugural session the programme followed was precisely that which has been in use ever since. The conference opened with the invocation of the Holy Ghost, followed by some spiritual reading from the *Imitation*. The President delivered the address, in which he urged them to personal holiness—"Sanctifying yourselves by the thought of Christ suffering in the persons of the poor." A collection was taken up—a hat being circulated as secret bag—and the meeting closed with the invocation "Sub tuum praesidium." One distinctive mark, however, was as yet lacking—the name of the Society. For the moment the group merely styled itself "Conférence de Charité." It was not until some nine months later, 4 February 1834, at the suggestion of Le Prévost, that the conference was called "Conférence de St. Vincent de Paul." By this time the original group of six had grown to twenty-five. The weekly meetings were regularly maintained, the visitation carefully performed, the programme of prayer faithfully followed.

Just a year later, on the feast of the Immaculate Conception 1835, the first Governing Council was formed. Bailly naturally became its President. It was the general wish that Ozanam should be Vice-President; but this he declined by reason of his periodic absences at Lyons. Le Prévost was then named Vice-President and Devaux Treasurer. The four sections, into which the original conference had sub-divided itself, were now erected into four independent conferences. Most important of all, the Rule was drawn up, formulated, read and duly approved. The actual compilation of the Rule was largely the work of Lallier, one of the six original brothers; but, of course, the chief source of inspiration was Ozanam himself.

The Rule defines the character of the Society—an association of piety and charity, having as object the visitation of the poor and being ready to adapt itself as far as possible to any further work, if of a truly charitable character. The unit is the Conference, which elects its President, who names the other officers. The form of Conference agenda, the prayers to be recited, the

[1] [For an account of M. Bailly and his son see article "*La Croix* and its Founder" in this issue.—Editor].

duties of officers, the admission of new members, the distribution of alms—all are regulated with such prudence and insight that, even after one hundred years of practical test, no material modification has been found necessary. As a foreword to the Rule, Bailly composed his " Observations Préliminaires," which set forth the spirit of the Society. What Ozanam had chiefly in view was the attainment of personal sanctity, the works of charity being merely an instrument for that purpose. Bailly never overlooked this fundamental fact. His " Observations Préliminaires," drawn in part from a work of St. Vincent de Paul, are in essence a practical exposition of the three virtues typical of the ideal St. Vincent de Paul brother : Piety, Charity, and Humility. The work of a master-hand, the " Observations " retain to-day their merit and excellence, and throughout a century of expansion they have ever formed the basis of the Society's official manual.

It would not be within the compass of this article to trace in detail the subsequent development of the movement. Let us merely note the general lines of progress. Expansion was at first slow, then greatly accelerated. By December 1839, after over six years of existence, there were 39 conferences in existence. In 1844, five years later, there were 144 conferences in full working order : 32 at Paris, 109 in the provinces, and 3 abroad. The active membership had increased from 1,068 in 1839 to 4,561 in 1844, and in the same period the charitable receipts had multiplied seven-fold : from 56,000 to 364,000 francs, which last sum permitted 10,000 families to receive help of all sorts, among which is noted the item of 440,000 loaves of bread ! The mustard-seed was certainly growing apace.

In May 1844, Bailly resigned the presidency, through pressure of work. Ozanam, then Vice-President-General, was warmly asked to take on the office, but he refused, being likewise too occupied with his professional duties in the Sorbonne. The machinery of election prescribed by Rule was then employed for the first time, the choice falling on Gossin. The necessary confirmation by the conferences was readily forthcoming ; 111 out of 116 accorded him their suffrage, and three days later Gossin held his first General Assembly under the presidency of the Archbishop of Paris. His term of presidency was short—only three years. It was marked, however, by two events of importance—the papal approbation of the Society and the world-wide effort made to help Ireland during the Famine. It had naturally been the wish of Ozanam and his companions to obtain some recognition of the Society from Christ's Vicar, and repeated efforts had already

been made at Rome by various ecclesiastics and laymen. These efforts were finally crowned with success ; on the 10th of January 1845, a Brief was issued by Gregory XVI granting the Society numerous indulgences and spiritual favours.

In November 1847 ill-health forced Gossin to resign. His presidency had been most fruitful in development. In a letter thanking him for his services, Ozanam could point to the fact that the number of conferences had increased from 144 at the beginning of his term of office to no less than 369 at its close. Most remarkable of all was the great increase in conferences abroad, which had jumped from 3 in 1844 to 94 at the end of 1847, the Society by then having extended to Ireland, Italy, England, Belgium, Holland, Mexico, America, Germany, and even to Turkey and Northern Africa. This rapid expansion was not without danger to discipline, and the Council-General had on several occasions—notably in the case of Holland and of the conferences at Nantes—to exercise its authority with great firmness.

Gossin was succeeded by Baudon as President-General in 1848. His presidency commenced under very difficult conditions. He held his inaugural meeting on the 15th February 1848, and eight days later revolution had broken out. Baudon himself was seriously wounded and Mgr. Affre, Archbishop of Paris and Protector of the Society, was shot dead at the barricades whilst making an heroic effort to bring about peace. Nevertheless it was in these troublesome days that the Monthly Bulletin of the Society made its appearance, the first number being published on the 15th June 1848. It proved a signal success, and in July 1932 the thousandth number of a series practically unbroken appeared.

Under the Republic, that is from 1848 to 1851, the Society continued its onward march. The number of conferences increased from 369 in 1847 to 766 in 1851, of which 329 were in foreign countries as compared with only 96 four years previously. In 1852 the Second Empire was established. Political changes, however, in no way retarded the Society's growth ; in fact the first decade of the Empire was probably, from the point of view of development, one of the most brilliant periods of its history. To cite but the statistics : from 1851 to 1861 the number of conferences passed from 766 to 3,623, an average increase of 286 every year. But in 1854 the Society suffered an irreparable loss by the death of its founder, Ozanam. Of indefatigable zeal and dowered with the gift of inspiring enthusiasm, he had been the moving spirit of the Society since its establishment. His death threw all France into mourning, while for his orphaned Society it seemed doubly unfortunate, as the hour of trial was near.

In 1861 the Society received its baptism of persecution. The anti-religious press had always regarded the St. Vincent de Paul Society as the vanguard of the Catholic laity and as the strong bulwark of the Temporal Power—then a vital question in European politics. On account of the relations between France and Italy and for reasons of political expediency, the Minister for the Interior, Persigny, decided to bring the organisation under government control. For this purpose he issued a circular to all the French provinces, accusing the Society of being secret, placing it on the same level as Freemasonry, and dissolving all the governing councils, which were to be replaced by representatives of the Government. This state of affairs lasted for nearly nine years. The effect was disastrous. To avoid compromising their positions in the eyes of the civil authorities, hundreds of members abandoned the Society. The help distributed by the Society in France fell from 4,300,000 francs in 1860 to 2,760,000 francs in 1868. No new conferences were formed. The Society's life was paralysed.

Gradually, however, these enactments of the Government were let pass into desuetude, and by March 1870 Baudon was able to re-open the Council-General and resume normal work. But the Franco-Prussian war and the rising of the Paris Commune soon brought further trials. These, however, were short-lived, and by 1873 the Society was again advancing as rapidly as ever.

In May 1883, the Fiftieth anniversary of the foundation was celebrated at Paris in the presence of delegates from all over Europe, including the President of the Council of Ireland and representatives from Canada and Brazil. Over one thousand brothers assisted at the Mass in the Basilica of the Sacred Heart, and later assembled in Notre Dame to be addressed by the famous Père Monsabré, whose magnificent oration concluded with the ringing assurance that the Society "entrait, pleine de larges et vigoureuses ambitions, dans une nouvelle cinquantaine."

Baudon, the "Second Founder of the Society" (as he has been styled), died in 1888, having previously yielded the presidency to Pagès, who continued in office until 1903, when he was succeeded by Calon. Under these Presidents the steady growth continued, so that in 1913, at the end of Calon's period of office, the Society comprised 8,382 conferences, with an active membership of over 140,000 brothers, and distributed almost seven hundred thousand pounds a year. The world was encircled with the girdle of charity.

Vicomte L. d'Hendecourt assumed office in March 1914. Once again expansion was arrested. Europe was suddenly plunged into war. Whole conferences were mobilised, receipts fell, and

the administration—especially in belligerent countries—was greatly disorganised, so that it was not until 1924 that the restoration of the Society was complete. Since then, however, under the presidency of M. de Vergès, progress has been remarkable, no less than 2,774 new conferences being formed in the eight years preceding 1932—*i.e.*, an average of one new conference every day. Even this rate is now being surpassed, as the following figures of new conferences show: 363 in 1930, 489 in 1931, 636 in 1932. Celebrating its centenary, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul finds itself flourishing and vigorous. 13,800 conferences now exist, comprising over 186,000 active members and bringing to the relief of suffering humanity some £2,000,000 annually." . . . which is indeed the least of all seeds, but when it is grown up, it is greater than all herbs and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and dwell in the branches thereof."

A chapter in the life of the Society which has special interest is its development in Ireland.[1] It was first introduced by Fathers Woodlock and Stephen Farrell in the parish of St. Michan in the year 1844. Progress was at first slow. Outside Dublin the first extension was to Cork, in April 1846. Waterford and Limerick soon followed, and two years later conferences were functioning in Galway and Belfast. There were but four conferences in existence when the greatest national disaster in our history befell us—the famine of '47–'48. The President-General Gossin, profoundly afflicted at the sufferings of Ireland, launched a world-wide appeal to all conferences to come to the aid of the "Island of Saints" in its hour of agony. Thousands of pounds were subscribed in this way to succour the starving poor. It is touching to record that in its turn Ireland gallantly returned this generosity, sending £700 to help the poor of Paris in the following year.

Even amid these scenes of desolation the Society continued to develop in Ireland. 1847 saw the number of conferences increase to 16; in 1859 there were 69 conferences, and twenty years later 129. To-day there are just over four hundred conferences, with an active membership of some 6,300 members distributing in charity close on one hundred thousand pounds. The charitable zeal of the brothers also finds outlet in numerous special works. Notable among these are the Orphanage at Glasnevin (housing some 150 orphans), the Apostolate of the Sea, the Night Shelter for homeless men, the Prisoners' Secretariat, the different clubs for boys, and various other beneficial activities. It is of interest

[1] In this connection I have been largely assisted by the paper read at the Emancipation Centenary, 1929, by the President of the Council of Ireland.

to observe in the report for 1931 that, during that year, four boys educated at the Orphanage were ordained priests.

The progress of the Society during the past century is resumed statistically in the following tables :—

Year	*Conferences*	*Members*	*Expenditure* [1]
			£
1860 ..	2,456	54,931	165,100
1882 ..	3,939	76,013	294,700
1912 ..	7,908	133,636	631,000
1932 ..	13,164	179,389	2,084,000

While observing its Rule with scrupulous exactitude, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul has ever shown itself adaptable to the varying needs of the day. Indeed its adaptability is its germ of immortality. For example, when Pope Leo's Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* focussed attention on the social problems of the working class, the Council-General—not indeed without some hesitation—decided to direct the energies of the Society towards helping in the solution of these questions. It has thus established, in different countries, housing-schemes for workers, penny-banks and co-operative savings movements, workmen's clubs, schools of apprenticeship and so forth. The spirit of progress is again evidenced by the grants accorded to the Catholic Cinema movement, by the propaganda-work undertaken against the spread of neo-Malthusian ideas, and, most recently of all, by the efforts made to cope with present-day unemployment.

On the other hand, great care is exercised to prevent the intrusion of anything out of harmony with Ozanam's conception and method of procedure. Numerous requests, for instance, have been made for permission to hold the meetings only fortnightly or monthly ; but even when supported by such excellent reasons as the vast distances separating the Australian members, the Council-General has always been unyielding in its insistence on the weekly meeting. Tendencies to introduce the invocation of local patrons or of national saints into the prescribed prayers have likewise been firmly resisted. The work performed must be essentially active. Although the name " conference " is suggestive of discussion and debate, the governing authority would never sanction the functioning of a conference merely as a study-circle. Practical action is the aim rather than theoretical speculation.

Does, then, the St. Vincent de Paul Society correspond to the

[1] Owing to exchange fluctuations the figures of expenditure, which are given in pounds sterling, must necessarily be approximate.

modern ideal of Catholic Action ? Emphatically, yes. It is a lay organisation, working in close collaboration with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, to extend to one's fellows the fruits of practical Catholicity. Its future is distinctly one of promise. To quote the Address of the President-General, M. de Vergès, delivered at the Eucharistic Congress last year :—" The word centenary implies an old and infirm person . . . but our Society is as young and active and daring as in its earliest days, and we can affirm, in the face of this perpetual youth, that the foundation of Frederick Ozanam is favoured by God and that it is imperishable."

I would point out, in conclusion, a possible ground of criticism. It seems to me that not enough emphasis is always given to the principal aim of Ozanam—namely, the sanctification of the brothers themselves. After all, distributing one's goods to feed the poor profiteth nothing without charity, and the ardour of that charity shall be the measure of the profit. Thus membership of the Society and its obligations are far from ceasing with mere attendance at the conference and performance of the work allotted. The true brother is a brother for every moment of his life. The discharge of the set exercises serves but to stimulate and quicken the charity which should inform his every action. God requires of all the Christian perfection proper to one's state. St. Vincent de Paul work correctly conceived should aim primarily at this perfection, and secondarily at the relief of the poor.

Observing, then, this all-important point and maintaining the rhythm of its progressive increase, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul seems destined to be a potent instrument in the production of good—a powerful organ of Catholic Action. To the Community will be given the security, amid dangers, of constructive Catholicism ; to the State will be given children schooled in the citizenship of Service ; to the Church will be given souls, wayward and straying, garnered by the vigilance of the brothers, and to God will be given the immeasurable glory of heroic sanctity overflowing in good works. DERMOT M. BOYLAN

II.—Some Aspects of German Student Life

BY RAPHAEL DOYLE, S.J., D.SC. (MUNICH)

THE German Revolution of 1918, like many others, was not merely political ; in the social sphere its effects were almost as marked as in the political. The dominance of the old military and land-owning aristocracy was broken, and power and influence came

largely into the hands of the upper middle class. The lower middle class, too, benefited by the general levelling of the extremes, and became more important in the social and intellectual life of the nation.

The change is very noticeable in the Universities. Before the War, a large number of students never did any serious study or sat for an examination during their whole academic career. After leaving school, they went to a fashionable University, like Bonn or Heidelberg, joined a crack "corporation" (the student-club peculiar to German Universities), heard a few of the more famous professors, and, after a year or two spent in this fashion, said good-bye for ever to academic life. As members of a fashionable corporation they had entry into the best society, and had the influence of fellow-members ("Bundesbrüder") to help them in their chosen career; for the member of a corporation must do all he can to help a fellow-member whenever he is called upon to do so. The corporation life, moreover, taught the young men good breeding, and the few lectures they attended gave them a smattering of philosophy; this, with their excellent secondary education, was all they wanted. They went off into the army, back to their estates, or perhaps into big business, and were excellent members of the upper classes of German society.

Of course, at the same time, there was serious study done at the Universities. In every branch of learning Germans were among those who stood in the forefront of the savants of their day. That corresponds to the German idea of a University—its function is not primarily to prepare students for a profession, but to advance knowledge. Except in the case of one or two modern foundations, the only "practical" faculty is the traditional one of medicine. Engineering, applied science, agriculture, architecture, commerce, are taught in sister institutions of equal standing but not bearing the title of "University"; they are *Hochschulen*. There is only one degree, that of doctor, the examination for which is designed to test a candidate's fitness "to engage in independent scientific research." As may be imagined, such an examination is not suitable for testing a candidate's ability to practise in a profession; the Ministry of Education, therefore, conducts special examinations for would-be doctors, lawyers, secondary teachers, pharmacists, etc.; it is this examination and not the doctorate which gives the right to practise. The instruction is, however, given by the University.

The War and its aftermath—revolution and inflation—have wrought a change in the numbers and outlook of those attending

the Universities. An impoverished aristocracy, finding the old avenues to positions in the military and colonial services closed, turns to the professions for a means of livelihood. The middle classes, from whose ranks the majority of present-day officials have been drawn, see in the professions their natural place in the nation's life. The industrial and economic depression, too, brings many to the University who, in more normal times, would have become farmers, tradesmen or skilled artisans; these vocations no longer offer the possibility of employment, and the natural result is a drift to the University. Consequently the Universities are coming to be looked upon more and more as institutions whose primary object is to train for the professions—the Church, medicine, law, teaching, scientific work in industry. The old ideal of learning for its own sake is not forgotten; but it shrinks in importance before the ever-growing problem of earning one's daily bread.

The steady increase in numbers at the Universities has gradually brought about a chronic overcrowding. In 1914 there were 1,064 students per million of population; the figure for 1931 is 2,005, nearly double. This, in a country which even in 1914 was well educated and amply supplied with professional men, is an astonishing increase. The result of overcrowding in the Universities is overcrowding in the professions, so that the chance of employment of university graduates is steadily decreasing or, in the case of independent professions, the remuneration is very small. To give an example: a Munich doctor, with what is considered a good practice, told me that at his present rate of saving (and he is living very simply) he would have to work another forty years to save 50,000 marks (£2,500)—not a very large sum upon which to retire.

On account of the large numbers of candidates, the standard at professional examinations is very high, and a student of only average ability must reckon with the prospect of failure after four or five years' work. Again, in Bavaria, no one has a chance of employment as a secondary teacher unless he has reached the equivalent of our first-class honours in his examination.

Is it any wonder that many students have become embittered; that they hate the present "system"; that they fanatically embrace National Socialism? This movement satisfies their extreme national ideals, and by its programme of state socialism promises to relieve the economic distress; it further promises to guard against overcrowding in the professions by introducing the *numerus clausus* at the Universities—*i.e.* by limiting the number of students to the expected demands of the professions.

I turn now to another aspect of German academic life, the financial conditions of the students as illustrated in the case of Munich. It may be summed up in one word, poverty. Of course, one does not see this at first glance. The casual visitor will see elegantly dressed young men, wearing the caps of the corporations, walking in groups of three or four ; he will be shown their fine club-houses, may be invited to a " Kommers " (a beer evening) in one of them, or if he be a non-Catholic, may witness one of their duels in some pretty old-fashioned garden. But this is only one side of the picture. The other is contained in the statistics of the Students' Welfare Office ; the following are those for the Winter Term 1932-33.

The five university institutions in Munich (University, Technical University, Academy of Art, Academy of Music, School of Applied Art) are attended by 13,500 students—12,500 of them matriculated. To the latter the statistics refer. The average income of a student—out of which he pays fees, board and lodging, buys books, clothing, etc.—is slightly less than 100 marks (£5 at normal exchange) per month. The average income of those applying to the Welfare Office for assistance is 31·7 marks per month. 3,000 students are granted a reduction in fees. There are 1,500 free-places available, and the complaint is that this is not nearly enough. Last summer 244 students were supplied with second-hand clothes by the Welfare Committee, and 238 students had no regular income but lived by doing occasional odd jobs. Another glimpse of the financial condition of the student body is afforded by the figures supplied by the Students' Union dining hall. A full meal there costs only 50 pfennig (roughly 6d.) ; but of the 3,500 who dine there daily, nearly one-third are unable to afford this. Quite a number take only soup, so as to have at least one warm dish during the day.

Fees average about 120 marks per half-year for students not doing laboratory work ; a room with heat costs at least 20-25 marks a month ; food will cost at the very minimum 1·20 per day ; so that a student needs at least 70 marks a month to live in frugal comfort, without reckoning the cost of books and clothing.

Under present conditions it is practically impossible for students to find work to enable them to earn a little. Only 76 found regular employment during the summer term of 1932, while 114 worked during the vacation ; but these latter, on account of the small wages, would not be able to save more than 20-30 marks during their vacation. I shall conclude this description of the poverty of the Munich students by quoting two extracts

from applications for assistance. A young architect, eighteen months before his final examination, writes : " Last spring, just before my examinations, I had to spend my nights playing in an orchestra to earn a little money. My father, a disabled soldier, can give me nothing. When Carnival comes I shall again be able to save a little by playing ; but how I am to manage till then, I don't know. I haven't even a sound pair of boots." A second, who was hitherto helped by a free-place, finds that this is no longer available. A friend, who used to invite him to dinner three days a week, has left Munich. His parents are farmers with a mortgage on their property and bankruptcy staring them in the face. The young man manages to exist by doing odd jobs. He says : " At the moment I possess 9 pfennig," and asks for a loan to pay his rent.

I have quoted these facts in order to show what the students are doing to help themselves. As I have already mentioned, the only official help is provision for reduced fees and a certain number of free places. The more fortunate students contribute one-third of the amount they are paying in lecture fees to the fund for providing reductions in fees ; the rest is met by public and private contributions.

Further help is provided by the Students' Union, the " Verein Studentenhaus." This Union, which claims to be the oldest and best in Germany (it was founded in 1920), is interesting from two points of view : first the material advantages it provides for its members, and second the idea underlying its foundation. The founders were ex-soldiers who had begun or resumed their studies after demobilisation. Life in the trenches had taught them the value of real comradeship and they conceived the idea, entirely new in Germany (if we except an abortive attempt of Carl Sonnenschein before the war), of bringing together the whole student body of the University into one big organisation for mutual help and encouragement in every possible way. Another indication of the change in the national mind ; for the pre-war University knew only the little watertight compartments of the corporations, which were, and to a large extent still are, graded according to the social standing of their members. So the Munich Union came into being, and it has grown in strength in the twelve years of its existence. The outward signs of its progress are there for all men to see. It has a large house, remodelled so as to provide offices, a reading room, and seven or eight study rooms —a very necessary provision when many students have not a decent room in which to work, especially in winter when many

a student's room is innocent of a fire. Behind the house they have built two fine rooms in each of which nearly 500 can sit down to dine; one is also fitted up as a theatre with all the necessary equipment, and is in frequent requisition. Not far away is a hostel accommodating 70, reserved in the first place for foreigners in gratitude for the financial help received in the early days from abroad. A very active Foreign Students' Club, with its assembly room in the hostel, helps to promote friendly relations between students from most countries of the world. Just last year a girls' hostel was opened which provides for residents (about 70) and non-residents. A double room in these hostels costs 25 marks, a single room 40.

The activities of the Union are many. The largest is the dining hall, which provides 3,500 students daily with very cheap meals. Then arrangements are made with a large number of firms in the city to supply books, clothing, amusement at reduced prices—the reduction is usually 10 per cent. A printing press, a clothes and boot-repairing shop are maintained. Periodical medical examination is provided, and a special committee co-operates with the authorities in developing sport among the students. The Union was also instrumental in founding the Academic Health Insurance Fund, to which all students must now contribute; it provides medical and hospital treatment in case of illness. Finally, the Union was successful in introducing compulsory Accident Insurance for all students engaged in laboratories; a big insurance firm grants special rates for this.

These advantages are for all students. Poor students receive special assistance—meals at still lower prices, vouchers for books and clothing, loans at a nominal rate of interest. Arrangements are made with families who invite poor students to dinner, work is provided as far as it is available, and so on. These latter activities are naturally limited by the funds available, most of which are derived from private contributions. Practically all the work is done by the students themselves under a salaried director. The control is vested in a committee on which citizens, academic authority and students are represented. The whole is an excellent example of what students can and will do, if given help and encouragement by those who are in a position to do so.

Of Catholic activity on a large scale, there is in Munich practically nothing. About 60 per cent. of the students are Catholics, say 8,500; but, as will be easily imagined, it is very difficult to get in touch with them as a body. At first thought, the Catholic corporations would seem to provide a nucleus from which a Catholic

organisation on a large scale might grow. Of the 111 corporations in Munich, 33 are Catholic with, at a rough estimate, 700 to 1,000 members, a number quite sufficient to establish a flourishing "Catholic Action." But a great obstacle to any such development is the corporation spirit. The Catholic corporations were founded about the middle of last century to enable Catholics to belong to a corporation without the undesirable features—duelling, excessive drinking, etc.—which characterise most of the other bodies. With these exceptions, they have generally speaking the same spirit as the others—the same exclusiveness and resentment towards any interference from outside, the same conservative clinging to old-established customs. Add to this the large influence exerted by the body of "Alte Herren," the former members, who to a large extent finance the corporation, and one realises that it would not be an easy task to galvanise these organisations into Catholic activity. Indeed they do not regard themselves in any way as a religious body. Provided the members do not live in open breach with the Church, no one minds whether they are practical Catholics or not. It is, however, now becoming fashionable to invite a prominent priest or layman to address the group once or twice a year on some Catholic topic ; but he is then their guest for the evening, and courtesy forbids that he should utter home truths. No corporation has yet made a closed retreat (there are two such retreats every year for students—average total attendance 40 !) ; but one or two spend a day or two at the retreat house with an invited priest and hold discussions on Catholic *Weltanschauung*. Again the priest is their guest ; it always reminded me of St. Paul preaching in the Areopagos.

Before the War the famous Father Carl Sonnenschein made an attempt to turn the Catholic corporations into more active, definitely Catholic channels. But the time had not come for such an attempt and it failed. Sonnenschein's post-war work in Berlin was on different lines. But the influence of the intellectual Catholic revival in Germany is spreading, and perhaps before long another Sonnenschein may arise and succeed in the task which his predecessor failed to accomplish.

Of course there is some Catholic activity among Munich students. The official chaplain is doing splendid work with his sodalities and S. V. P. conferences and by regular addresses to various student groups. The Students' Union supports him to a certain extent, but its non-religious character prevents much real co-operation. The influence of the chaplain is directly confined to a small elite of 200 or 300, and remains entirely personal.

R. Doyle

REVIEWS

Religion

L'IDEAL RELIGIEUX DES GRECS ET L'EVANGILE. Par A. J. Festugière, O.P. Préface par le R. P. M. J. Lagrange, O.P. (Études Bibliques). Paris : Librairie Lecoffre. 1932. 60 fr.

THERE is perhaps no historical study to which such passionate attention has been devoted in modern times as that of the " pagan background " of early Christianity. The nature of Greek paganism, the growth of the great philosophic schools upon its foundation, and the extraordinary mixture of beliefs, cults, and superstitious practices and ideas which resulted from the imposition upon the world of Roman unity, have been examined with tireless curiosity, intensified rather than appeased by the constant and abundant discovery of new documents buried in Egyptian papyri or hidden away in ancient compilations. The methods of comparative religion and the systematic criticism of textual sources, applied to these documents, have produced a bewildering and often treacherous morass of theories, intended for the most part to explain away Christianity as a natural evolutionary product of paganism or as only one of the syncretistic cults that flourished under the Roman Empire as never before or since. In recent years there have been apparent signs of a salutary reaction, caused by fuller study and understanding, against the facility of these explanations. The book before us, published under the distinguished auspices of Father Lagrange in a famous series, deserves to be welcomed as the fullest, most learned, and most impartial study of this difficult and important subject that has yet appeared.

Its author is a thoroughly trained classical scholar, pupil of the École Normale Supérieure and former member of the French schools of Rome and Athens. He has mastered the many ramifications of his subject and is familiar in detail with its immense bibliography. His purpose is to discover " in what measure the religious sentiment of the Greeks prepared them for the Gospel." His first chapter is a very careful and fully-documented examination of the Greek religious ideal. This is an aspect of the subject which strangely enough has been rather neglected in the search for anthropological parallels and original philosophic doctrines. It has to be studied through the medium of texts like the *Ad Demonicum* attributed to Isocrates and the minor Platonic dialogues, whose evidence seems at first sight altogether commonplace because of its familiarity, but when properly pieced together and compared with other evidence yields a very clear and

complete picture. The author makes great use of collateral evidence found in out-of-the-way sources such as the late Pythagorean *Carmen Aureum* and a series of inscriptions which enshrine the traditional moral admonitions of the Delphic Apollo. This study brings out clearly the aristocratic bias of Greek religious thought, its tendency to eventuate in philosophy, and the chasm which it inclined to fix between God and man. Here it may be remarked incidentally that the famous opening of Pindar's Sixth Nemean does not with certainty bear the sense attributed to it by Father Festugière; but this does not in the least affect his argument.

From this exhaustive study of the Greek ideal, the author passes to the doctrines of the philosophers. In a series of short but rich chapters he reviews their development from Plato through Aristotle, the Epicureans, and the Stoics to the neo-Pythagoreanism which became fashionable just about the time Augustus remodelled the Roman Empire. He shows how in Plato we find "les fondements philosophiques où le donné révélé trouvera son point d'appui." Plato, using a certain kind of religious tradition for support, introduces into philosophy the notion of a union with God, which, however, remains purely intellectual, with no divine aid and no idea of grace. Aristotle, on the other hand, with his unmoved Mover and his final denial of real immortality, takes a backward step which leads directly to the pessimism of both Epicureans and Stoics, and which accounts for the hostility towards his teaching of early Christian writers. Two very sympathetic chapters on the Epicureans and Stoics show how the *ataraxia* of the one and the *apatheia* of the other both derive from the position of Aristotle and are both materialistic and pessimistic in spite of some gleams of real religion in Cleanthes and other Stoics. With neo-Pythagoreanism, as seen in the tradition set forth by Philostratus and Iamblichus at a later period, we reach a philosophic mysticism which, for all its apocalyptic technique and its offers of union with divinity, is fundamentally materialist and pantheist.

The second great division of the book deals with the Mystery-religions, in their relation to philosophy, as real cults and as affecting popular belief in immortality. An opening chapter analyses the *De Natura Deorum* of Cicero as exemplifying the bankruptcy in his day of philosophical theology. We are struck here with one rather unexpected omission—the new turn given to Stoicism by Cicero's friend Posidonius of Apamea, so much canvassed in recent studies, is not discussed. The chapter on

the Mystery-religions draws a valuable distinction between Mysteries as real cults and what the author calls "literary Mysteries". The great example of the former is the Eleusinian mysteries, which are discussed in detail from the point of view of union with the Godhead and of the promise of immortality. The author has no difficulty in showing that in neither respect is there any real analogy with Christianity. Here we would offer two criticisms, one of detail, the other more general. We do not think the author will find many to accept his suggestion that the final vision vouchsafed to the Eleusinian initiate was a statue of Demeter or Korè. In choosing the Eleusinian ritual as his way of approach, he has chosen the easiest way for his purpose. We would have been glad to have his detailed opinion on the Orphic-Dionysiac mysteries, which he dismisses too easily, we think—not that they would in the least weaken his case, but that while more difficult to understand than those of Eleusis they are also more interesting, especially as regards belief in a certain kind of immortality. Their influence can be traced plainly enough on what he terms "literary mysteries". A final chapter gives us a most valuable supplement to Rohde's collection of instances showing belief in immortality. Here two principal beliefs make themselves apparent: one, derived from philosophical speculation, that the soul goes into the "Ether" at death; the other, more popular and, we believe, strengthened by Dionysiac influences, that it goes to the "Abode of the Blest" if it be that of a "pious," that is to say, religiously observant, person. The belief that it may find itself in a different abode, while also widespread, naturally does not figure on the epitaphs quoted by the author. A concluding chapter sums up the result of all this study: at the end of a long development the Greek had changed very little in his religious views, and no evolution of pagan belief in the direction of Christianity had really occurred.

In an Excursus, which is nearly as long as the main body of his work, the author reprints a series of valuable special studies, each of them developing and illustrating some of the points already made. One discusses the origin of Plato's idea of God; another shows the essentially Jewish origin of St. Paul's doctrine of the *pneuma*, in spite of its specious resemblance to Plato's psychology; a third collects passages from the Fathers in which Aristotle is fairly consistently condemned; a fourth contrasts St. Paul with Marcus Aurelius; and the fifth is a really precious study of the great collection of Magical papyri whose publication was completed by Preisendanz two years ago. It would be

difficult to find another work in which the real character of ancient magic is so fully and fairly set forth. We have not space to deal more fully with the details in which the book abounds. Every chapter is a valuable treatise in itself; the author's learning is enormous, and the accuracy of his elaborate notes and references very remarkable, for all their extent. We have no doubt that this book will be treasured by all students interested either in Greek and Roman religion for their own sake or in their qualities as a background for the Christian regeneration. M. T.

THE NATURE OF SANCTITY. By Ida Coudenhove. (Essays in Order, No. 10). London: Sheed and Ward. 1932. Pp. 121. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS little book does not make easy reading, for all the charm of its style, faithfully conserved in the really admirable translation. It is in the form of a dialogue: both the disputants, women unmistakably, but women endowed with quite exceptional powers of strong thinking and clear expression, discuss the problem of sanctity as it presents itself in the case of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. "A" is repelled by the contrast between "the human Elizabeth, pious, God-loving, indeed devout, but human all the time, the gracious lady, wife and mother, in her happiness, in her kindliness, and her bitter, undeserved grief," and the Elizabeth of the second period, the "saint," sacrificing all that made her life lovely, even the love of her children, at the call of an inhuman asceticism, under the grim direction of Konrad of Marburg. The greater part of the book is taken up with "B's" reply, "A" intervening every now and then to re-state an objection or to insist on a more satisfying answer.

The question is as old as Christianity—

> "Is Thy Love, indeed,
> A weed, albeit an amaranthine weed,
> Suffering no flowers save its own to grow?"

But every age requires an answer in its own language; and our age may be very well content with the answer which Ida Coudenhove gives in this stimulating and profoundly suggestive little book. Only in eternity will the antinomies be resolved which result from the interlocking of human nature, sin, and the grace of God; but Fraulein Coudenhove's rapid but searching analysis of the ideas of sacrifice, of self-denial, and of human and divine love will help many to understand the problem more truly and to catch a glimpse of the solution. M. F. E.

LA SPIRITUALITE CHRETIENNE D'APRES LA LITURGIE. By Antoine de Sérent (des Frères Mineurs de Metz). Paris : Desclée De Brouwer. 1932. 15 fr.

One would wish to express the hope that this remarkable work by Father de Sérent will appear soon in an English dress. It is a very full treatment of the Church's liturgy in its strictly devotional aspect and is singularly rich in illustrative matter. We have, most of us, a very unfortunate tendency to make our personal devotion something apart from the liturgical services of the Church, her real public prayer, and so to lose sight of those vast treasures of spirituality, the accumulation of all the ages, to be found in the Missal and Breviary. We assist at Mass, we seldom hear Mass. We may fulfil our strict obligations, but we cannot make up by our private meditations and rosaries for what we lose by not participating to the full in the public services of the Church in the manner in which our Holy Mother wishes us to take part in her own devotions, the Mass and the Divine Office.

Such in brief is the thesis set out by Father de Sérent and fully demonstrated and illustrated by him. A splendid book, both for instruction and spiritual reading. We need this kind of work very particularly in Ireland, for it would be no injustice to call us the Low Churchmen of the Catholic Church, and such reading would do much to help us to live up to the Great Congress and not slip back into the old slovenly ways. John Howley

(1) *THE WAY TO GOD. Shown by Masters of the Spiritual Life.* Selected and edited by Sir James Marchant. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1932. 12s. 6d.

(2) *WAYS OF CHRISTIAN LIFE. Old Spirituality for Modern Men.* By Dom Cuthbert Butler, Monk of Downside Abbey. London : Sheed and Ward. 1932. 7s. 6d.

(1) Sir James Marchant's *Way to God* is a book to buy and keep. It would be difficult to find elsewhere such a wide and comprehensive anthology dealing with every phase of the spiritual life, by the great spiritual writers of every age of the Church. The extracts are well chosen, well translated and well grouped. The pious reader has ample matter for meditation and spiritual culture. But the collection will also appeal to those who are not primarily looking for edification ; for the merely literary value of these extracts is very great indeed. It is a necklace of pearls, pearls of great price.

(2) Dom Cuthbert Butler in his *Ways of Christian Life* adds to the debt we owe him for his *Western Mysticism.* He gives us

an admirable survey of the various schools of Catholic spirituality ; a survey that is no mere academic or literary history. It is practical and helpful for the ordinary work-a-day reader. No one knows better than Dom Cuthbert how to speak to the average Christian man ; even our separated brethren highly esteem his work. In this present book we get not alone masterly summaries of the spiritual doctrine and practice of all the great Catholic schools of devotion, but we are shown how to adapt and utilize ; we are instructed as well as informed. JOHN HOWLEY

Biography

S. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY. By Franz Joannes von Weinrich. London : Burns and Oates. 1933. Pp. 316. 8s. 6d. net.

THIS is a biography in the modern German manner, which has lately become familiar to readers of English through translations of writers such as Emil Ludwig. It is clearly the result of wide reading and intense study of the period, but the erudition is expressed in a series of vivid pictures, scenes more or less loosely connected with one another. The translator, who has done his work excellently on the whole, has preserved the abrupt and staccato style which represents the revolt of latter-day Germany against the clumsy pedantry of previous generations. It has the fault, like most German writing of the present day, of being too strident. The note, always high-pitched, rises every now and then to a scream. The writer has given a fine picture of German life at the dawn of the thirteenth century, but he has done much to mar it by his insatiable appetite for crude colouring and violent contrasts ; one feels that he has not been fair to anyone, to the Church, to the barons, to the heretics, to the poor, or to the lepers. Against the rather revolting background the character of Elizabeth stands out in its exquisite childlike beauty, one of the loveliest lilies in God's garden.

But whatever faults of crudity and overstatement one may find with the book, it is hard to lay it aside before one has finished it, and even then one is inclined to go back on some of the scenes in it. M. F. E.

THE LIFE OF SAINT ALONSO RODRIGUEZ. God's Theologian. Translated from the Spanish of I. Casanuovas, S.J., by M. O'Leary. London : Sands. 1932. 3s. 6d.

St. Alonso—or Alphonsus—Rodriguez, the subject of this memoir, is not to be confused with Father Alphonsus Rodriguez, the author

of the well-known *Christian Perfection*. While the latter may be looked on as the recognised exponent of Jesuit asceticism, the former is a great Jesuit authority on the higher forms of prayer. They have this in common, that both of them, in teaching and example, found their inspiration in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius.

The life of St. Alonso was uneventful. Owing to the death of his father, he was recalled from college by his mother to help her in looking after their business. He was fifteen years old at this time, and had only spent a short time at the Jesuit College of Alcala, where he had the good fortune to come under the influence of B. Peter Faber, one of the first Founders of the Society. His business career, including four years of happy married life, was not a great commercial success—owing in part to his absorption in God. In 1571, at the age of forty, he entered the Jesuit novitiate as a Lay Brother. He was soon transferred to the Island of Majorca, where, as porter in the college at Palma, he spent the greater part of his long life. He died in 1617 aged eighty-six.

His occupation gave him many opportunities of exercising a wonderful apostolate among all classes, and won for him a reputation of great holiness. His personal life may be described as an exact and continuous practice of "the Third Degree of Humility" as taught in the *Exercises*. His extraordinary recollection and habitual union with God are described simply and fully in the *Memoriale* which he wrote in obedience to the wishes of his superiors. In it he describes in words which rival those of St. John of the Cross the mysteries of the highest kinds of prayer and mystical experience. His great love for the Blessed Virgin is one of the outstanding features of his life. In the work under review we are given many of the pages written by the Saint, which enable us to get some insight into his interior life. Of the many who were influenced by his counsels and example, perhaps the most famous is St. Peter Claver, who looked on this holy Brother as the master of his soul.

This book is a small one; but it should not be missed by those who seek knowledge of the highest holiness based on the solid rock of obedience, charity, and self-conquest. M. G.

ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS. By Fr. Bruno, O.D.C. Edited by Fr. Benedict Zimmerman, O.D.C. With an Introduction by Jacques Maritain. London: Sheed and Ward. 1932. 18s.

WHAT can one say in praise of this splendid biography of the Mystical Doctor, the most complete and learned Life we have

yet had of that great servant of God ? I can only say that it has increased my esteem for the Saint, a thing I would not have thought possible. It is to be hoped, for the sake of the English-speaking public, that the publishers will soon see their way to a cheap edition. The present price is far too high for the large circulation this book demands. And it is further to be hoped that the second edition will see an improvement in the arrangement of the Notes. It may be necessary to place all notes at the end of the book instead of at the foot of each page, but consultation should be made easy instead of a laborious puzzle as at present.

JOHN HOWLEY

HENRY CROMWELL. By Robert W. Ramsey, F.S.A., F.R.S.L. London : Longmans. 1933. Pp. 392. 15s. net.

HENRY (1628-74), fourth son of Oliver Cromwell, took part as a young officer in the Irish campaign of 1650-52. Two years later he spent the month of March (1654) in Ireland, having been commissioned by his father to find out the attitude of the puritan army towards the Protectorate. After the lapse of another year he arrived in Dublin (9 July, 1655) to take over the command of that army. On 24 November, 1657, he was sworn in as Lord Deputy, on 28 September, 1658, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and he left Ireland on 27 June, 1659. At the Restoration he made his peace with Charles Stuart and, strange to say, was confirmed in his Irish lands, which however, he sold to two of his friends. With the proceeds of the sale he purchased Spinney Abbey, where he lived in retirement till his death.

His official correspondence, which was published two centuries ago in Thurloe's *State Papers*, still forms the main source of our knowledge of the man ; for the three volumes of his correspondence preserved among the Lansdowne manuscripts in the British Museum, on which the author of the present Life has drawn extensively, are concerned almost exclusively with his family affairs and seldom throw much light on his public career. But there is another way in which the Life is more disappointing. Little use has been made of material available in abundance. The sufferings of the Irish people, which made the name of Cromwell a by-word for cruelty among Christians, have been recorded by contemporary writers ; but here they are passed over in silence where they should have been described, and are too lightly touched on where mention of them could not be avoided. It is not that Mr. Ramsey does not know the history of that period—indeed, he gives us continually the impression that he knows more

than he is telling us. It is not that he is bigoted or prejudiced; for wherever he expresses his own opinions he is impartial and his condemnation of the cruelties of the Cromwellian régime sounds sincere. But the suppression or minimizing of unpleasant facts produces a picture which, if not distorted, is a painting without a background.

Sir Hardress Waller's expedition into south-west Munster in 1650 was one of the cruellest episodes of the war. Contemporary accounts of it are extant, and it is still vividly remembered. Henry Cromwell took part in it. It was his introduction into Irish politics; it must have had a strong influence on the formation of his mind and character; yet Mr. Ramsey dismisses the whole thing in one line. Henry Cromwell, during his years of command, was engaged in many cruel transactions. Mr. Ramsey tries to excuse him. But could he not have found a satisfactory defence in the influence that Broghill and Coote had over him? They were two of the most intimate friends he had in Ireland, but they were also two of the cruellest of the Cromwellian commanders. May not long and close association with two such men have rendered him insensible to cruelty? Mr Ramsey suppresses all mention of their atrocities, and by thus eliminating their influence for evil on the character of Henry Cromwell deprives the latter of the benefit of extenuating circumstances.

A more important question is that about Henry Cromwell's share in the transportation of Irish girls to the West Indian plantations. Mr. Ramsey rightly denounces this policy as "an atrocious idea" and excuses Henry Cromwell by saying he was only carrying out orders from London. But Henry tells us himself that he judged it to be a business of public concernment and that he was as full of "zeal in this design as you would wish." Mr. Ramsey then urges that "at least it may be said that Henry showed some consideration for the conditions of transport of these unhappy young women," because he wrote to Thurloe: "It will be necessary that care be taken for the clothing of them, which, if you allow money for, may be best and cheapest done here" (p. 79). Now first of all, Henry Cromwell can claim no credit for calling attention to the fact that these unfortunate girls would have to be provided with clothing, for an order to that effect had been issued a year before by the Parliamentary Commissioners. Secondly, it was clearly not the interest of the slave-traders of Bristol that their victims should die during the six weeks voyage across the Atlantic or arrive in an emaciated condition at the West Indian slave-marts, where they were sold

publicly by weight to the planters. When therefore Cromwell wrote to tell Thurloe that cloth was cheaper in Ireland than in London, economy, not humanity, was his motive.

Finally, Mr. Ramsey alleges that " there is no evidence that any young women were ever sent from Ireland " (p. 79). It is hard to characterise such an assertion fittingly. The official Cromwellian records show that orders were issued for the seizure of boys and girls, they show that the arrests were made, and that new orders were thereupon issued to hand the arrested over to certain ship-captains mentioned by name, who were engaged in the West-Indian trade. Cromwellian officials admit that over five thousand women, boys and girls were transported. Contemporary Catholic writers all say that large numbers of women, boys and girls were sent to the West Indies, and some give definite details. These statements were published at the time and were never successfully challenged or disproved, and their truth is confirmed by extant documents forwarded by the colonists from America to London protesting against the importation of Irish men, women and children into the area of their jurisdiction.

It may be admitted that Mr. Ramsey's work enables us to understand better Henry Cromwell's career, but it is clear from what has been said that this biography was intended more for Cromwellian devotees than for serious students.

JOHN MACERLEAN

Economics

THE MACHINE UNCHAINED. By L. Hausleiter. London : Routledge. 1933. 12s. 6d.

THE turgid and declamatory style in which this book is written obscures but does not entirely conceal its real merits. It is a study of the present economic crisis by a writer who displays a very extensive knowledge of economic history and a firm grasp of the tangled skein of post-war industry and finance. The account of the crises of the nineteenth century, leading to the European war, itself described as a major crisis, throws new light on the forces influencing the economic development of the world. This part of the book is, however, no more than an introduction to its main theme, the unparalleled crisis of to-day.

The present crisis differs from its predecessors in many vital respects. It is a crisis of abundance rather than of scarcity, and has been partly caused by the overproduction of a group of important primary commodities following technological improvements of a fundamental kind. The appropriate falls of prices

were in many cases prevented or retarded by state action or private organisations of producers. Cartelisation and valorisation schemes artificially maintained certain prices at abnormal levels, with the result that a cleavage opened between the more and the less mobile portions of the price structure. The rigidity of wages and the magnitude of charges in respect of capital and taxation prevented industrial costs from falling sufficiently, with the result that the price levels of raw materials and manufactured goods were divorced. The gigantic volume of unproductive debt incurred during and after the war imposed crushing burdens on industry and dislocated the free working of the international exchanges. The resulting difficulties led to an outburst of extreme economic nationalism, in which each country waged a campaign, partly defensive and partly offensive, with tariffs, currency depreciation, and strategical movements of gold. The whole situation was greatly eased, in the author's opinion, by Great Britain's departure from the gold standard, which deprived France of one of her principal economic weapons and restored to England the hegemony in world trade if not in world finance.

There is nothing very original in this account of the causes of the present crisis. Nor has the author much that is new to offer by way of remedy. The alternative courses of returning to complete economic liberalism on the one hand and of thorough socialisation and self-sufficiency on the other are both declared impossible, and the somewhat barren conclusion is reached that each country must evolve some compromise policy to suit the needs of its own situation. The organisation of the State on corporative lines, following the Fascist model, is urged as the main ideal of domestic policy ; while, in the international sphere, attempts should be made to create " politico-economic cartels of States " large enough to enable a reasonable degree of self-sufficiency to be attained without an undue sacrifice of the standard of living. With self-sufficiency as the ideal for a small country the author has no sympathy. The book as a whole is a useful addition to the literature of the crisis, without being in any way epoch-making or sensational. It adds little to the existing knowledge of the subject, but is interesting as presenting a familiar subject from an unusual angle.

G. O'B.

Education

SOVIET EDUCATION. (*Day to Day Pamphlets, No.* 12). By R. D. Charques. London: Hogarth Press. 1932. 1s. 6d.

NEW MINDS: NEW MEN? By Thomas Woody. London: Macmillan. 1932. 21s. net.

LA PEDAGOGIE SCOLAIRE EN RUSSIE SOVIETIQUE. Par E. Devaud. Paris: Desclée De Brouwer. 1932. 10 fr.

THOUGH many of the numerous books of travel, description, and propaganda touch on the aims and achievements of the Soviet Government in the sphere of Education, it is not to be expected that they can deal at all adequately, or indeed in anything more than a superficial way, with what many of the Bolshevik leaders regard as one of the most important of their revolutionary activities. The subject certainly deserves more than the incidental treatment that can be given to it in the classes of book just referred to. The three volumes under review are, therefore, welcome.

Mr. Charques's pamphlet can well serve as a useful introduction for those who are interested in the effort not only to revolutionise politics and economics but the human mind as well. He can claim to have given a succinct, clear, and (considering the limits of space—somewhat over forty pages) rather comprehensive view of his subject. In the circumstances it is inevitable that readers cannot find here all they want and that they should desire a fuller treatment of certain aspects. Those who have read much about modern Russia will appreciate the clarity and control over his material. At the outset he lays bare the motive-power and some of the underlying principles, especially the dominance of political considerations. The family resemblance between all the phases of Bolshevist activity is illustrated in the course of treatment. The attitude of the author is sympathetic, but not blindly uncritical. He is well aware of the tendency of planners—even Soviet planners—to regard as done what has only reached the planning stage. Apart from his exposition of the place of Education in the Soviet outlook, the most interesting portions of the pamphlet will be found to be those dealing with Polytechnisation and the achievements and limitations of literary effort. Those who have read some of even the most boomed modern Russian novels will find little fault with the following verdict: "The Communist view . . . is, roughly, that a writer's duty in a society engaged in achieving Socialism is to the needs of the proletariat rather than to his so-called artistic con-

science; that these needs should in fact become identified with his conscience, so that the 'conquest of technique,' for instance, becomes for him an artistic symbol as well as a party slogan . . . What it comes down to in the end is that the Soviet literary artist to-day is required to divert his energies into educative rather than creative channels. He must teach the Party line; he must stimulate the workers, encourage them, fortify them, educate them."

Mr. Woody's book is much more ambitious. It is very obviously the result of an unusually full acquaintance with the immense amount of printed matter of all kinds in Russia and of three tours of close observation extending over a period of twenty months, during which he visited large cities and the tiniest villages. Over five hundred schools of every sort and size from kindergartens to universities were inspected—some of them several times. In addition to the published literature, there were the wall-newspapers, the efforts of the children themselves. He had the views of "authorities" and teachers—not necessarily always the monotonously uniform "official "views that are so apt to be given even in ordinary conversation—and these he was often in a position to check with the observations he was able to make on the spot. As a result he sets "down certain observations as to what the 'new mind' is to be, the chief agencies whereby it is to be created, and as far as possible what has actually been achieved towards its creation."

Right through the book, as well as in special chapters, this main problem is dealt with and illustrated. There are also chapters devoted to the consideration of certain important subordinate problems—for instance, Children's Literature, the Octabrists, the Pioneers and the Komsomols, Self-organisation, Science and Religion (the campaign in the schools against religion), the New Woman—the work accomplished under the last mentioned head seems especially to warm the author's heart.

On the whole we have a very objective description of the ideals and the achievements. Occasionally the author criticises, and then the reader would like to know on what positive views his criticisms are based. Too often authors and the reading public are under the impression that the suppression of one's own standards of value leads to objectivity. That is not so. It only means that the reader is not aware of the standards of criticism that are often applied—if any such are applied—and is deprived of a help to suspect the colour of the glasses through which he may be asked to view events. In the present

instance there are times when the author seems too ready to confuse religion and superstition—a confusion all the more regrettable because much Bolshevik propaganda rests on a similar confusion—deliberate in their case. But the book, as a whole, will supply the reader with a lot of detailed information on the Russian educational system.

M. Devaud approaches his subject from a somewhat different angle, and his book, if a comparison be permitted, is more philosophical in conception and execution. For some readers, therefore, it will make harder reading. But it will amply repay the time spent on it, especially for those who have not in one way or another, consciously or all unawares, accepted a relativistic view of truth, and for whom the issue with Bolshevism is in last analysis one of basic truth. The present volume deals with the Bolshevik pedagogical doctrine, the philosophy on which it is based, the mind that lies behind it, the ideals and the colouring of that mind. It is to be followed by another volume which will treat of the manner in which this doctrine has been realised in practice at different periods of the Soviet rule. Those who have read the present volume will look forward to the appearance of its successor. No one can deny the importance of the work that M. Devaud has undertaken, nor question the ability with which he has performed it. He gives a penetrating and yet thoroughly calm and objective analysis. True, on a few occasions when he indulges in criticism he feels bound to put forward his own positive views by way of contrast and as a foundation for his criticism. This is only fair and helpful to the reader. But in no case, as far as I can see, does either the firm grasp of his own conception of the truth nor his expression of it cause any unfairness in his exposition of the Bolshevist views. Those who wish to understand not only the core of Bolshevist pedagogy and its connection with Marxist doctrine but the whole inner meaning of the Revolution in its spiritual aspects will find considerable help here. The ruling position of labour, especially productive industrial labour, in the whole conception of education, receives special attention. J. M. O'S.

Fiction

TUDOR SUNSET. By Mrs. Wilfrid Ward. London: Sheed and Ward. 1932. 387 pp. 7s. 6d.

IT was with peculiar fittingness that this novel was published only a couple of months before Mrs. Ward's death. It enshrines all that was best in the genius of that noble and talented woman.

There is not a trace in it of the weakness of age—many have thought it the finest of all her works—rather an ease and fulness and rounded beauty that belong more to maturity. It is intensely Catholic, it is intensely English, it is intensely able, and it is intensely beautiful, and all those adjectives spring readily to the lips when one thinks of the personality of the author.

In the Preface, addressed to Mr. Alfred Noyes, Mrs. Ward has made her purpose clear. *Tudor Sunset* is a picture of the declining years of Elizabeth's reign. In that picture there stand out two features : the martyrs and the Queen. The heroism of the former, the baffling personality of the latter—terrible, grotesque, yet magnificent—the clash of conflicting loyalties that bind yet sever the two, these are the main themes of the story. The love-story of Richard Whitlock and Meg Scrope runs through the chronicle of dungeons and hangings as but a slight relief, like a thread of silver through a background of scarlet.

The records of the English martyrs are so amazingly living, so full of brave humour and exquisite holiness, that one almost trembles to see them worked into a novel lest they should shine discordantly, like diamonds beside paste. But Mrs. Ward's genius has linked diamond to diamond with a chain of gold. Her description of the martyrs at supper in Newgate has an intense spiritual beauty that makes the reader feel for a moment that he is living in those days where ever-near danger made God also ever near. And even the story of Meg and Richard—simply and beautifully told in itself—is exalted by the perilous loyalty of the two young lovers to a greater Love than theirs.

F. McG.

A SOUL UNCONQUERED. By Eva Hope Wallace. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1933. Pp. 278. 7s. 6d.

THIS is a pleasant, smooth-running tale of the loves and adventures of Richard Amor in the little Lincolnshire village of Springsby and on the convict ship, *The William Jardine*, on her voyage to Van Diemen's Land. The plot is somewhat slight, but the period, 1850, is excellently painted. Richard Amor is at one period a schoolmaster, and there is a vivid and historically accurate picture given of the very lowly type of dwelling in which Knowledge had to take up her abode less than three generations ago. With a little greater depth of plot, the author would take a high place among the creators of " period " fiction.

F. McG.

History

THE STORY OF MOUNT MELLERAY. By Ailbe J. Luddy, O. CIST. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1932. Pp. 285. 3s. 6d. net.

ALL visitors to Melleray in Ireland, and foremost among them all the past students of its excellent and thoroughly Irish Classical and Philosophical School, will be glad to have this clear and compact account of the origins and development, down to the current academic year, of the great Cistercian foundation in Munster. Its Catholic and Irish influence has long been international as well as national; and were a map of its direct missionary action over the world added to the excellent map and explanatory lists that present the scope of Cistercian work in Mediaeval Ireland, it would be a telling proof of what Mount Melleray has achieved in the hundred years since the return of the Cistercians to our country.

No reader of the definitive *Life of St. Bernard* will fail to recognise its author's practised skill and efficient interlinking of historical facts and religious thought in this veritably domestic record. One can always trace the strata of the sources on which he draws, sources that in many a classical phrase recall to us the style of writing and allusion that was current when the Irish Melleray was engaged in the arduous struggles of its youth, struggles most of all concerned with the severe and never-ceasing contentions against the mountain surface of Scrahan. Melleray has proved victorious in an exemplary fashion over that typical mountain region; but every visitor with an observant eye will not fail to note how that struggle has everywhere and always to be unremitting. Were it not, the mountain surface of old would at once reassert its dominion.

Far other in its nature and process has been Melleray's conquest over the Irish mind and heart. Of its quality, the reader of this attractive record—quiet, dignified, austere, monastic in every sentence—will have an authentic sample to judge by. Of the effects of this auspicious reunion of the lands of St. Malachy and St. Bernard this volume tells us, in the sketches of its great abbots, most of all in Abbot Bruno and Abbot Maurus, the Norman and the Gael as moulded to the Cistercian spirit and tradition. It tells us, too, of the rise and development of the Classical and Philosophical School. Despite the deprecatory comments of Fr. Ailbe on page 142, not quite in accord with the more accurate account on page 141, the Melleray School was in its entire curric-

ulum and organisation in full accord with both the Renaissance and Mediaeval culture of European lands, while in its studies and in its social order it was in the right line of descent from the popular schools of Ireland in the later Penal Times. The best schools of any nation in the world were in no way superior, from the Revolutionary year 1789 to the Revolutionary year 1830, to the fine work and workers of South Eastern Munster. Melleray is, in its varied excellences, their true posterity.

An entirely worthy record is this, religious and human as well as full of the spirit of ascetic humanism and Christian culture.

T. C.

CATHOLIC COLONIAL MARYLAND. By Rev. H. S. Spalding, S.J. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1931. $2.50.

Father Spalding has written a very pleasant account of Catholic Maryland in the old colonial days. In the main his narrative is borrowed from the immensely learned volumes of Father Hughes, to whom all students of Maryland history must always turn for the documents on which to base their narrative. But Father Spalding, himself a native of Kentucky and a student of American social life, has many attractive details to note as to the daily life and work of his Maryland ancestors—for he is convinced that the immigration of Maryland Catholics into Kentucky at the end of the eighteenth century has left a permanent mark on Kentucky customs and ways of speech. These are matters on which only a local scholar is competent to pronounce judgment. We are content to offer Father Spalding our thanks for so pleasant a volume, with its clear narrative and its many charming illustrations of old Maryland life. That Maryland was the first home of religious toleration in America is a truism to-day; all the more credit to Father Spalding then for having shown us that the life of these Maryland planters and their servants was so pleasantly human.

A. G.

BYZANTINE CIVILISATION. By Steven Runciman. London: Arnold. 1933. 16s. net.

This book, by a Cambridge scholar who has already made his reputation as a solid and trustworthy historian, is a very welcome addition to the steady stream of good English works on the Byzantine Empire that have been appearing in recent years. It covers on a larger scale the same ground as Professor Norman Baynes's brilliant little sketch in the Home University Library.

Having much more space at his disposal, Mr. Runciman is enabled to meet our curiosity more satisfactorily than his predecessor. There is apparent also an interesting difference of emphasis; for whereas Mr. Baynes, as an historian of the later Roman Empire, drew his illustrations more from the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, Mr. Runciman, whose own specialist work has lain in the ninth and tenth, gives us a much fuller picture of this very important period. For this reason many essential features of what is most truly Byzantine about the civilisation of the Empire are clearly brought out in Mr. Runciman's work.

Like Mr. Baynes, he begins with an historical sketch, which in sixty pages tells the story of the Empire's external fortunes very lucidly. There follow ten chapters in which administration, religion, military history, commerce and daily life, education, literature and art are fully discussed with a wealth of references to the original authorities. These references alone constitute a most valuable feature of the book for students, and indicate the immense labour that must have preceded its writing. Mr. Runciman's close and careful reading of his sources enables him to enliven almost every page with some valuable illustration, and the details which he introduces almost casually about the life of Byzantine times and the character of the Byzantine people are full of interest. His book should help to banish finally the chronic belief that these Greek-speaking Romans of the Middle Ages were sunk in "Oriental" degeneracy, unspeakably cruel and superstitious, and remarkable for their complacent incompetence. Nothing in fact is more characteristic of the Byzantines than their continual vigour and unsleeping vigilance, qualities which show themselves in the fact that, instead of being a "uniform tale of weakness and misery," their history is rather that of the rule of one dynasty after another of extremely competent, enlightened, and active Emperors. Its greatest and most irremediable disaster, the defeat of Manzikert in 1071, was indeed due to one man's incompetence, but that is only made the more glaring by the record of those who preceded and followed him. Byzantine cruelty is merely a stupid legend; there was never anything in Constantinople to equal the tortures common in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England or France. As for superstition, we are inclined to think that although Mr. Runciman ably defends the medieval Orthodox church against this charge, he exaggerates somewhat the "pessimism" of the Byzantines. When he contrasts the sadness of the Orthodox Christian with the "simple laughter and happiness of the pagans," he shows

himself very slightly acquainted with the real quality of Athenian paganism, not to speak of the spook-haunted gloom of the later pagan Empire.

This book insists very profitably on the part played in Byzantine history by the peoples of Asia Minor, who formed its mainstay during its great period. In particular the influence of the Armenians is emphasised; they contributed greatly not alone to the business life of the Empire and to its administration—many of the Emperors and noble families had a strong mixture of Armenian blood—but above all to its magnificent artistic achievement, which is only now being fully understood. They were the intermediaries through whom in the earlier centuries a strong Iranian element made its way into Roman art, and in later times their own great artistic tradition was constantly influencing not only that of Constantinople but also that of the Byzantinised Slavs. Mr Runciman vividly illustrates the keen business life of the Empire when he explains the comparative absence of Jews by the reason that "in business they were no more astute than the Greeks and the Armenians." The dominance of two such renowned races must indeed have made commercial competition difficult.

Mr. Runciman writes agreeably but at times a little stiffly, only rising to eloquence in his final pages where he descants upon the long-prophesied doom of the Empire. Considering the large amount of detail it covers, his book contains very few errors or misprints. There are here and there inevitable fluctuations in spelling proper names, such as Pachomius on p. 226. Anaximander is rather startlingly dated to the fourth century B.C. on p. 235. It may be innocence on the reviewer's part which makes him look askance at "steactite" on pages 257 and 264. In discussing the question of university education it is surprising that Mr. Runciman does not mention the work of Fuchs, *Die hocheren Schulen von Konstantinopel*, published in 1926. Finally, is he quite sure that he really means anything when he says (p. 241) that every educated person carefully learned Classical Greek, "with its antiquely stressed pronunciation?" M. T.

THE TREASURE OF SAO ROQUE. A Sidelight on the Counter-Reformation. By W. Telfer, M.A., Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. London: S.P.C.K. 1932. 8s. 6d.

S. Roque was the church attached to the Professed House of the Society of Jesus in Lisbon. The site was acquired by P. Jerome Nadal in 1553, and the preacher on the occasion of the first

Mass in October of the same year was Saint Francis Borgia. The first stone of the new church was laid in 1555; but it and the accompanying buildings were not completed till 1584. It was one of the most splendid churches of Lisbon, and its fame was enhanced by a magnificent collection of relics which had been put together by Don Juan de Borgia, third son of Saint Francis Borgia, during the five years (1576-81) he spent in Germany as Spanish ambassador at the Court of the Emperor Rudolf II. This collection of relics forms what is here called the Treasure of S. Roque.

The Council of Trent by a decree passed at its last Session (1563) had prohibited the exposition or reception of new relics without episcopal examination and approbation. Relics already publicly venerated were presumed to be genuine, and had not to be authenticated except when transferred from place to place. As nearly all the relics in the Borgian collection belonged to this latter class, the eighty-seven deeds of authentication that accompanied them and are still preserved are not critical examinations of the history of the relics but merely official testimonies to their previous veneration.

On the fifth of September 1587 Pope Sixtus V granted in perpetuity a plenary indulgence on the usual conditions to all the faithful who visited the church of S. Roque on four special days. The days selected were such as commemorated the four chief relics and at the same time reminded the faithful of the four chief donors. They were the first of February for the head of St. Brigid, given by the Emperor Rudolph II; the third of May for the piece of the True Cross, given by P. Claudius Aquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus; the twenty-first of October for relics of St. Ursula and companions from the collection of Don Juan de Borgia; and the seventeenth of November for the head of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, given by the Empress Maria.

From the deeds of authentication published by Mr. Telfer we learn that previous to 1580 the head of St. Brigid was venerated in the Imperial Chapel of Wiener-Neustadt, being preserved there under a triple lock. At the request of Ernst, Archduke of Austria, this relic was forwarded by Lambert Gruter, bishop of Wiener-Neustadt, with a letter of authentication, to the Emperor Rudolph II, who shortly afterwards, by letters patent dated from the Royal Castle of Prague, 20 April, 1580, presented the same to Don Juan de Borgia, by whom it was given to the church of S. Roque in 1587. This donation gave rise to a peculiar complication, for a relic claiming to be St. Brigid's head was already

in veneration in Portugal. It will be enough to give Mr. Telfer's reflections on this point. Speaking of this Borgian relic he says : " Its coming to Lisbon must, it seems, have caused embarrassment to the Sisters in the convent of Lumiar, just north of Lisbon. They had claimed to possess the head of St. Brigid in their church. But Jorge Cardoso, in his *Agiologio Lusitano* [1652], relates a story of the miraculous disappearance of this relic. He does not note any connection between this story and the coming of the famous [Neustadt] relic to Lisbon. But the incident suggests that the public recognised degrees of authenticity in relics, and expected the less established competitor to give way, when brought into proximity with another " (p. 133).

One other incident of Irish concern may be mentioned. The formal handing over of the Borgian relics was the occasion for a magnificent procession from the Cathedral to S. Roque on 25th of January, 1588, in which the relics were carried on twelve *andores* or litters. In the place of honour at the end of the procession a *Bispo de Hibernia* carried a large oval silver reliquary containing a holy thorn from the Crown of Thorns and a piece of the True Cross, under a pall borne by the Royal Chaplains, and on arrival at the church he presented this reliquary to the Cardinal Viceroy to be kissed. Mr. Telfer has not identified this " Bishop of Ireland " ; but he was evidently Connor O Melrian, bishop of Killaloe (1576-1616), who went to the Spanish Peninsula as envoy of the Earl of Desmond in 1582 and remained there till his death.

To trace the history of the various persons mentioned in the deeds of authentication entailed a vast amount of reading, and Mr. Telfer is to be congratulated on the way in which he has executed his task. On every page he displays familiarity with Catholic authorities, such as Franco, Telles, Aquilera, Schmidl, Sommervogel, *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, etc.—thus setting a good example to all who undertake to write of Catholic affairs. From his pages we get new light on the activities of many oldtime Jesuits like Leao Hanriques, Jorge Serrao, Gil Gonzales, Pedro Fonseca, not to mention many better known names. With the exception of a few lapses into abusive terminology (*v.g.*, Jesuit extremists and Catholic obscurantists) and his superficial account of the persecution of the Society of Jesus under Pombal, Mr. Telfer is impartial and proves thereby that an historian can be critical and at the same time write sympathetically of the devotional practices of Catholics.

JOHN MACERLEAN.

THE AGE OF THE GODS. By Christopher Dawson. Cheap Edition. London: Sheed and Ward. 1933. 8s. 6d. net.

THE MAKING OF EUROPE. By Christopher Dawson. Sheed and Ward. 1932. 15s. net.

BOTH of these books are already so widely and favourably known that little more than a brief indication of their worth is needed here. The first is a reprint of a work issued originally by Messrs. John Murray in 1928. It has been unanimously greeted, both by experts and by critics more representative of the general reader, as the best existing synthesis of knowledge on the subject of prehistoric man. In about four hundred pages Mr. Dawson surveys the whole range of Stone and Bronze Age culture, concluding with a chapter on the beginnings of the Iron Age in Europe. His treatment is by no means dryly archaeological; he is essentially an historian, and an historian of a new and special kind. His real subject is not merely the material development of civilisation, but the mental and spiritual development that accompanied it as well. Hardly anything in his book is more remarkable or better done than his account of the peasant religion of the Neolithic period, its expansion with the advent of the plough and the use of the ox to draw it, and the further expansion of this peasant cult of the Mother-Goddess into the religion of the earliest City-States. This study of the religious kernel of civilisation is the most original part of a book which, for the rest, is an extremely able summary of the best recent research. The average student who masters Mr. Dawson's work will have acquired a sound body of knowledge on such subjects as Palaeolithic culture and its diffusion, the rise of early civilisations in Mesopotamia and Egypt and their growth during the whole Bronze Age, the very complicated interrelations of Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures in Europe, the origin and diffusion of Megalithic culture, the evidence as to the original home of the Indo-Europeans, and the formation of the great historic European peoples. The book is furnished with excellent maps, and if its illustrations are scanty and somewhat arbitrarily-chosen, we can only say that one must not expect everything. It is rather a pity that the opportunity of the reprint was not availed of to correct a few minor errors in the excellent Bibliography.

The second book is a similarly successful synthesis of European history from the fall of the Roman Empire to the rise of that of the Ottos. Like the first it is exceedingly impressive both by reason of its learning and for a sort of interpretative originality. Here again Mr. Dawson's subject is culture as a spiritual entity,

and his object is to show how the cultural unity of modern Europe, so much neglected in the modern pursuit of national ideals, is in reality the product of forces that came together in the so-called Dark Ages. Rome, the Christian Church, the Barbarian peoples and the non-Hellenic Orient, all contributed their quotas to this fusion, which itself prepared the way for the long medieval renaissance and for the peculiar disruption, spiritual and political, that characterises the modern world. As in *The Age of the Gods* Mr. Dawson gives both a masterly summary of the best recent work and a critical synthesis which is entirely his own. We would single out as particularly impressive his chapters on the awakening of the East and the revolt of the subject oriental nations against Rome, on the expansion and inner development of Moslem culture, and on the age of the Vikings. In all three he deals with subjects somewhat remote from his central theme, and handles them with a skill already manifested in his remarkable *Dublin Review* article on Islamic Mysticism. As is natural, early Christian Ireland plays a considerable part in this story of the Dark Ages, and Mr. Dawson does full justice to her contribution not alone to Saxon and Frankish culture, but also to that of the Vikings. When he insists, "in spite of the protests of patriotic Irish scholars," in describing the social organisation of Celtic Ireland as "tribal," we think for once he has fallen into a slight confusion, and forgotten that the civilised states of antiquity were just as much based on kinship and the family as were the rural states of early Ireland. It is therefore meaningless to distinguish between them on this criterion alone.

In his treatment of the later Roman Empire Mr. Dawson brings out better than any historian with whom we are acquainted, the very important part played by the bureaucracy of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries in preserving some of the best elements in the ancient culture. The organisation of this bureaucracy, which has been unthinkingly criticised, was in fact probably the greatest and most beneficent reform of all those attempted by Diocletian and Constantine. The separation it secured between military and civil authority was undoubtedly a very great advance on the ancient system which always confused them; and it was the restoration of military government by Justinian and his successors which probably more than anything else broke the continuity with the higher culture of the early Empire. Another question which Mr. Dawson sets in a new light is the contribution of Anglo-Saxon England towards early medieval civilisation. Here, while we hesitate to express an opinion, we wonder whether

his patriotic ardour does not carry him away a little, as sometimes happens to ourselves. We hope Mr. Dawson will go on to give us an intermediate volume between the two before us, and apply the same solid learning and sound judgment to the cultures of Greece and Rome. Here is a Catholic historian whose work thoroughly deserves the warmest welcome from the Irish public.

M. T.

Philosophy and Theology

ST. AUGUSTIN ET LE NEO-PLATONISME CHRETIEN. Par Régis Jolivet. Paris : Denoël et Steele. 1932. 20 frs.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS AND HIS WORK. By A. D. Sertillanges, O.P. Translated by Godfrey Anstruther, O.P. London : Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1933. 5s.

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By George Stebbing, C.SS.R. London : Sands. 1932. 2s. 6d.

THERE will always be good books to write on St. Augustine ; and Père Jolivet has written one of these. St. Augustine is probably the richest, the most comprehensive, the most interesting mind in Christianity—excluding its founders. A book that traces certain important reaches in his thought will always be welcome. The abiding interest in his life is his search for truth—not an abstract truth, but for Him Who is the Truth. It is a curious thing that one who had a Catholic mother and who was from his early years a Catechumen should have known so little about Catholic philosophical and theological doctrine, and should have to win his way to it by so long and painful a *détour* through the heresies of his time. At Carthage he was attracted by the Manicheans. They promised him truth. For years he sought it at their hands, and they put him off with fables. Above all they could not solve his difficulties about the nature and existence of evil. At Rome the scepticism of the New Academy appealed to the mood of disillusionment left by his disappointment with Manicheism. Why look for truth ? Aim at happiness and peace of mind. Let probability be the guide and rule of life and action. Then he came across the works of Plotinus, which left a deep and abiding influence on his mind and thought ; and finally brought him to the Catholic Church. Plotinus enlightened him on a long felt difficulty as to the possibility of a spiritual substance, and partially satisfied him on the question of evil. But above all Plotinus gave him a vision of that clear, unchanging, intelligible world, which led him to God, and on which he was largely to base his philosophy and theology. Père Jolivet has written an

interesting and valuable book; it is the result of a close study of the works of St. Augustine and shows a wide acquaintance with the immense literature that has grown about them.

It is not mere curiosity that urges us to try to know the person behind a great system of philosophy. We expect that a great philosopher should be a great man. When he is at the same time a saint, then he is certainly worth knowing. St. Thomas lived fully to the level of his speculation—*fecit et docuit.* He is well worth a place among *les grands coeurs.* P. Sertillanges has done as much, to say the least, as any living man to give us the thought and mind of St. Thomas, and he comes now to increase our debt by this sketch of the man and saint. It helps us very considerably to understand St. Thomas—or any philosopher—to know what was the material on which he worked, the state of ideas he found, and what was the aim that he set before himself. Until we see in St. Thomas's work a vast and original synthesis of all the contemporary currents of thought, we cannot appreciate or understand him. Père Sertillanges gives us chapters on the saint's life and task, on his epoch, on his style, etc. His book gives us an impression of a rare conformity between the man and his work; of a character serene, candid, and of childlike simplicity; of a mind of astonishing depth, firmness and comprehensiveness. His work is marked and dominated by a complete recognition of the primacy of intelligence; and this same quality is found as prominently in his spirituality. In chapter VI. Pere Sertillanges gives an admirable summary of the work of St. Thomas and shows how all his philosophy springs from and leads to God. In the last chapter he discusses the future of Thomism with a freedom which might be resented from any one who had deserved less well of this cause. "It is not enough to re-edit Thomism and defend it vigorously; we must rejuvenate it. It is only a fresh living thing that can begin a new movement." Father Anstruther has done the work of translation in a competent manner.

Father Stebbing has aimed at giving students of philosophy a continuous and organic account of the growth of philosophical systems which will be more satisfactory than the necessarily disconnected accounts given in the text-books. There is certainly room for such a book and on the scale that Father Stebbing has planned this one. But it is much more difficult to write a short book on the history of philosophy than a long one. It is not at all easy to give a well balanced account of a complex system—to place oneself at the centre and to indicate clearly

the main lines and true outline. The chief fault we find with this book is that the author has tried to pack too much detail into it—with, consequently, a loss to proportion and clearness. But Father Stebbing has written a useful book which meets a decided want; and the fault indicated may well be left to the professor to remedy. We have found a few verbal errors and a few wrong dates; and Peter Lombard cannot be called a commentator on the *Sentences*. He was a compiler of them, a *Magister Sententiarum*—in fact the most famous of these and the one most commented on by succeeding philosophers, whose book remained the text-book in Catholic schools of philosophy for centuries, until it was displaced by the *Summa* of St. Thomas.

H. K.

CURSUS BREVIOR PSYCHOLOGIAE SPECULATIVAE. Auctore Josepho Fröbes, S.J. Paris: Lethielleux. 1933. Pp. 455. 20 fr.

THIS work contracts into a single volume the contents of the two volumes, *Psychologia Speculativa*, which appeared in 1927. Although considerably briefer, it repeats most of what is contained in the previous work, and even amplifies certain discussions. The arrangement is better, and the appearance of the work makes it much more inviting to the student. As an example of compactness and clarity combined, the book in its present form would be difficult to surpass.

What is distinctive in Dr. Fröbes's method is his assimilation of modern knowledge in Psychology with the Scholastic principles. His intimate acquaintance with the enormous and constantly increasing new material specially equips him for this task. His large handbook in German on Experimental Psychology is, perhaps, the most comprehensive account of this subject that has been written. In the difficult work of selecting what is most suitable and important in recent work on Psychology, and adapting it to the older discussions, he has been very successful.

The book is divided into five parts, dealing respectively with animal psychology, special psychology of the senses, intellect, will, and the nature of the rational soul. J. SHINE

CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE. A Doctrinal and Historical Study. By George H. Joyce, S.J. London: Sheed and Ward. 1933. Pp. 640. 21s. net.

THE first duty of a reviewer of this work is to welcome the inauguration of *The Heythrop Theological Series*, which makes

herewith an auspicious and appropriate commencement—auspicious, because Father Joyce sets up a splendid standard of achievement; appropriate, because, though the tract on Matrimony is neither the logical nor the traditional beginning of a theological series, it is the one that is perhaps of most practical importance at the moment; for the sacrament of marriage—more, doubtless, than any other theological issue—is a stone of offence to the great world of to-day. It is being assailed not only in countries like Russia, Mexico and Spain, where revolution has openly repudiated all the sanctities, natural or supernatural, which once invested this solemn contract, but also in many lands where a certain lip-service is still paid to "our Christian civilization." The war upon it is world-wide and the defence of it is a primary duty of the theologian. Hence no one will urge considerations of logical order or school tradition against Father Joyce's subject under the circumstances. The only question that arises is how he has accomplished his task.

A first cursory glance led, in my case at least, to a sense of disappointment. Everyone knows that we have innumerable treatises on marriage from dogmatic theologians, moralists and canonists. But it is equally well-known that none of them treat the historical side of the question with anything like comprehensiveness or thoroughness. A history of Christian Marriage from the Catholic standpoint, in which the evolution of the Church's teaching would be made accessible to all, has been a long-felt want. The present volume by its plan and table of contents suggested an effort to meet this want. On the other hand its restricted size seemed to condemn it in advance to inadequacy, to sketchiness if not to superficiality. And so I approached the detailed study of it with some misgiving.

But I was agreeably surprised. The most striking feature of the book, revealed upon a closer examination, is the impressive mass of careful and accurate information packed into its pages. Evidently Father Joyce has devoted much thought to the task of selection, elimination and condensation. He has ruthlessly scrapped the mere paraphernalia of learning, practised every economy of utterance, and refused to get lost in side-issues, non-essentials or irrelevancies. Yet the reader soon grows conscious that the vast and varied documentation of the subject has not been neglected, but sifted and winnowed again and again. The result is what, I think, may be fairly styled the most complete and satisfactory, as well as the most lucid, presentation of the question that we possess as yet. When we understand the precise

purpose of the author we can feel nothing but admiration for the manner in which he has accomplished it. He has wished to guide us through a very labyrinth of tangled theological controversy and historical debate. He has sought most of all to impose order on wide-ranging and often chaotic material. His own reading must have been considerable. But so far from wishing to make a parade of this, he has endeavoured to disguise it—or at least he has been chiefly concerned with the presentation of his theme in the clearest possible light, with all the fulness attainable in a single moderate volume. The treatment is as solid, as well-balanced, as luminous and complete as could justly be expected within the space-limit he deliberately imposed on himself.

If one may hazard a conjecture one would say that the marshalling of his facts, the arrangement of his narrative, has cost him more toil even than the collection of his data, though this has carried him into so many fields of half-accomplished research that even high courage might shrink from the task. To take but one example: the codes and customs of Franks, Lombards, Burgundians, Visigoths and other peoples who broke through the frontiers of Imperial Rome, mingled with the older inhabitants, submitted gradually to the Christian faith and laid the foundations of the Europe that we know, have to be gathered from all sorts of sources—monumenta historica and specialist tomes—so that working through them is like making a road through jungle or primeval forest. And that is only a small portion of the difficult ground Father Joyce has had to explore. The purely theological side of the question will have given him comparatively little trouble. He had numerous excellent and orderly treatises to draw upon. But to fit the teaching of the Church into the kaleidoscope of European history for two thousand years, to show it in evolution, to tell of the long-drawn out and chequered fight of the Christian principles against the excuses of passion and the jealousy of secular power from Constantine onward, to let us see not only what we hold now but how we have come to hold it, to trace impediments from their origin to their final formulation in the recent Code of Canon Law, to give us, in outline at least, a history of divorce from the *Libellum repudii* of Moses to our own day—here was no light undertaking, and it has been fulfilled with a success that cannot be questioned.

Of the teaching of Father Joyce I need say little. It is and had to be the theology of the *Arcanum Divinae Sapientiae*

of Leo XIII and the *Casti Connubii* of Pius XI (though I only noticed one reference to this weighty encyclical, which might, in my opinion, have found a place among the documents printed in the Appendices). But this doctrine is the result of a more than millennial evolution, and it is as a picture or mirror of that evolution that the present work possesses its own peculiar value. Definite, of course, no such work can claim to be. But Father Joyce has opened up new vistas and cleared away much obstructing undergrowth and fallen timber. He has laid the foundations on which all his successors must build in their treatment of marriage from the viewpoint of positive dogmatic theology.

P. J. Gannon

LE CORPS MYSTIQUE DU CHRIST. Par E. Mersch, S.J. 2 vols. Louvain : Museum Lessianum. 1933. 90 fr.

The doctrine of the mystical body has in recent years been the object of increased interest and study amongst theologians and spiritual writers. A few years ago a French theologian, in a work[1] which attracted a considerable amount of attention, studied it from the point of view of systematic theology, making it the central point of a theological synthesis. In the present work we have, I think, the first attempt to trace the history of the doctrine. In three sections it treats of the development of the doctrine in Holy Scripture, in the writings of the Greek Fathers (Vol. 1), and in the "tradition of the West" (Vol. 2). This comprises not only the Latin Fathers, but also the Scholastics and the evolution of the doctrine in modern times. A few articles on special aspects of the doctrine have been collected in an appendix to the second volume. Among other points, it includes some interesting details on the position of Luther and Calvin as regards this doctrine. The work, in which citations necessarily abound, has been well equipped with an exact and ample *apparatus criticus*. Its usefulness is increased by the copious indices and by the very detailed bibliographies attached to each chapter.

It would be impossible here to even summarize the wealth of material contained in Father Mersch's two volumes. His thoroughness may be inferred from the fact that he begins his study with the Old Testament and continues it through the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, before reaching St. Paul and St. John. This may at first cause surprise. But the author has his eye on the inner meaning of the doctrine—our supernatural union in Christ—and

[1] *La Doctrine du Corps Mystique du Christ d'après les Principes de la Théologie de St. Thomas*, par l'Abbé J. Anger.

he rightly finds a first outline of the revelation of this mystery in the Old Testament interpreted in the light of the New. Much more clearly does it appear in the Synoptic Gospels—in the doctrine of the kingdom of God; that kingdom which is the centre of Christ's teaching and which is so intimately connected with His person, of which He is the unifying and life-giving principle. Finally, it is manifested in all its fullness in the epistles of St. Paul and in St. John.

The writings of the Fathers show us the doctrine growing ever clearer in the consciousness of the Church, as its various aspects and facets are more fully and clearly realised and explained. Then the doctrine is traced through the centuries of scholastic theology; through the period of struggle against Protestantism; and finally a very interesting study of the development it took in the founders of the French Oratory. The last pages are devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with their reviving interest in and renewed understanding of this doctrine

The author's treatment is throughout objective and historical; he does not try to obtrude on his readers any particular way of viewing this doctrine. In his introduction, however (p. xxi), he indicates the two ways of conceiving this doctrine which are open to Catholics and his preference between them: "The first is characterized by its realism and its mysticism. . . . Our union with Christ is a true union, a real and ontological union. . . . . The other way of conceiving it does not go as far as this; according to it, the union—without doubt real—is of a more colourless reality, a reality of the moral order. . . . The first conception, in our opinion, is richer in doctrine, better founded in Scripture and in the Fathers . . . and if it is more mysterious, this mystery is not so much another difficulty for our understanding, as a transcendent truth that helps not a little towards the understanding of other truths." T. G.

Social Science

DER ZINS IN DER SCHOLASTIK. Von August M. Knoll. Innsbruck: Tyrolia. 1933. 17s. ch.

DR. KNOLL'S book is a study of the views of Catholic theologians on the question of interest during the last seven centuries. He begins with St. Albert the Great (1193-1280) and St. Thomas Aquinas (1226-1274), and comes down to our own day and to theologians (and controversies) still very much alive. As Schaub's work extended from Charlemagne (742-814) to the death of Alexander III (1181), we now possess (apart from general studies

such as Endemann's, Sommerlad's, Brants' and others) three complete histories of this question: Neumann's *Geschichte des Wuchers* (1865) and Funk's *Geschichte des kirchl. Zinsverbots* (1876) being the other two. There have been innumerable special studies as well—either on particular theologians, such as Ilgner's *Volkswirtschaftlichen Anschauungen Antonins von Florenz*, or on particular periods as Lessel's work on usury in the 13th century. Moreover, Dr. Knoll's book is the fourth or fifth full-dress study of the question which has appeared in the last decade. One would imagine, then, that the main facts and doctrines concerning usury and interest ought to be familiar to, or easily acquired by, those wishing to write on the question. Yet such seems not to be the case. Within the last year or two a couple of distinguished Catholic journalists and a still more distinguished non-Catholic economist have tried to persuade their readers that the "Canonists" had condemned many centuries ago modern "loan-interest," and especially interest paid on war-loans. The nearest these writers got to the "Canonists" or St. Thomas appears to have been the works of Cunningham and Ashley! This is all the more regrettable in Catholics, because, as was pointed out long ago in previous controversies on this point, fundamental questions, such as the infallibility and the sanctity of the Church, are involved.

As Dr. Knoll's book shows once again, there is a crystal clear and sharp distinction in Catholic doctrine between "usury" and "interest." But just as credit-reformers, by a little judicious juggling with the terms "credit," "money," "currency," "purchasing power" and "deposits," can bring the most attractive solutions of economic crises out of their hats, so interest-cranks, by quietly interchanging "usury," "interest," "loan," "debenture," "bank-deposit," can produce the most amazing condemnations out of the Middle Ages. Usury has always been condemned by the Church and must always be condemned by her—it is an article of faith that usury is a sin. On this question there has never been any dispute among Catholic theologians. Moreover, usury is something which can be fairly closely defined and which presupposes the presence of one particular type of contract, the *mutuum*. To talk, for example, of "usury" in connection with the "deposit-contract" is only an abuse of language. But as regards "interest" there has always been, since the days of St. Thomas, two distinct currents of thought among Catholic theologians. Dr. Knoll finds the origin of this double tendency in the "twofold structure of the doctrine on interest of St. Thomas himself." A "hostile" attitude to interest has (according to

Dr. Knoll) always characterised the Dominican School, a " friendly " attitude the Jesuit school. His book accordingly falls naturally into two parts : the first hundred pages being devoted to the Dominican theologians from St. Antoninus down to Fathers Weitz and Prümmer and Cardinal Zigliara ; the second hundred pages deal with the Jesuit views. In these latter Dr. Knoll finds that at first there was a triple division—St. Peter Canisius being given as the type of the " hostile," Lainez as the " compromise," and Ledesma as the " friendly " attitude. The " friendly " attitude triumphed eventually, and we find Dr. Knoll stating : " Thomas wurde jesuitischerseits wohl verstanden. Er selbst konnte nicht viel anders in der Zinsfrage heute denken—als die ' zinsfreundliche ' Richtung " (p. 22).

It need hardly be said that the book is thoroughly scientific in method and treatment. The original authorities are allowed to speak for themselves, so that the reader can know exactly what they did or did not condemn. It may be doubted if there exists such a very sharp distinction precisely between Dominicans and Jesuits on this question : Dr. Knoll seems to have let himself be too greatly influenced by the desire of a schematic presentation of his matter. A very welcome and reasonably complete account of recent controversies on the question of interest is included in the volume. The book is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject, and may be regarded as a standard work. E. J. C.

L'ACTION CATHOLIQUE. Traduction française des Documents pontificaux (1922-1932). Paris : Maison de la Bonne Presse. 1933. Pp. 427. 12 fr.

THIS is a handy volume containing all the pontifical documents which are authoritative for the interpretation of the present Holy Father's programme of Catholic Action. The text of the French translation has already appeared in *La Documentation Catholique*, but the scheme of selection is based on an Italian collection published by Mgr. Cavagna in 1929 under the title *Pio XI e l' Azione cattolica.* As compared with the Italian collection, this French volume has the advantage of including the most recent pronouncements down to the year 1932 ; but these documents are printed in the form of two long Appendixes to the substance of the volume, covering close on one hundred and fifty pages. A chronological table makes it easy to follow the sequence of events in the development of the papal programme ; in itself it is an interesting summary of a policy which is not the least memorable fact in a memorable Pontificate. P. D.

Books Received

Boudou, Adrien. Actes de Apôtres. (Beauchesne, 24 fr.).
Casey, John K. The Rising of the Moon. Ballads. (Gill, 2/6).
Cassidy, James. Visions of Ireland: Old and New. (Sands, 3/6).
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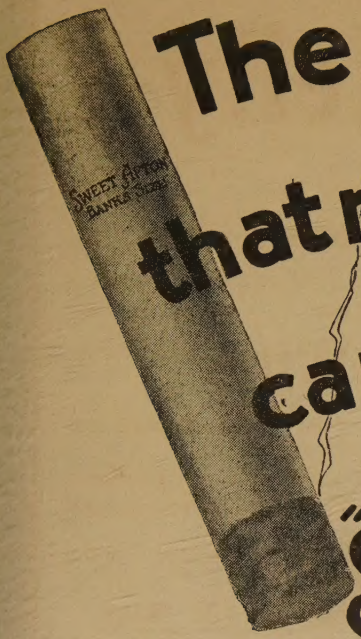

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